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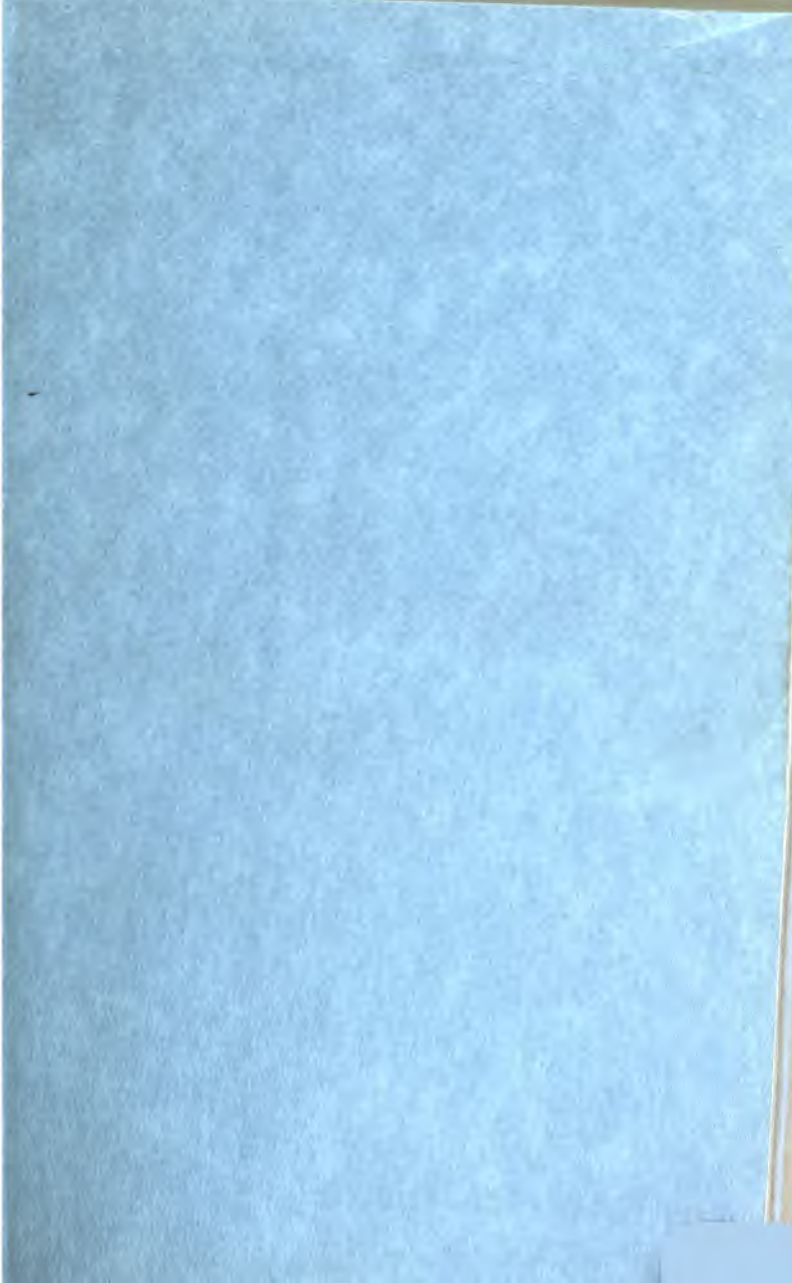


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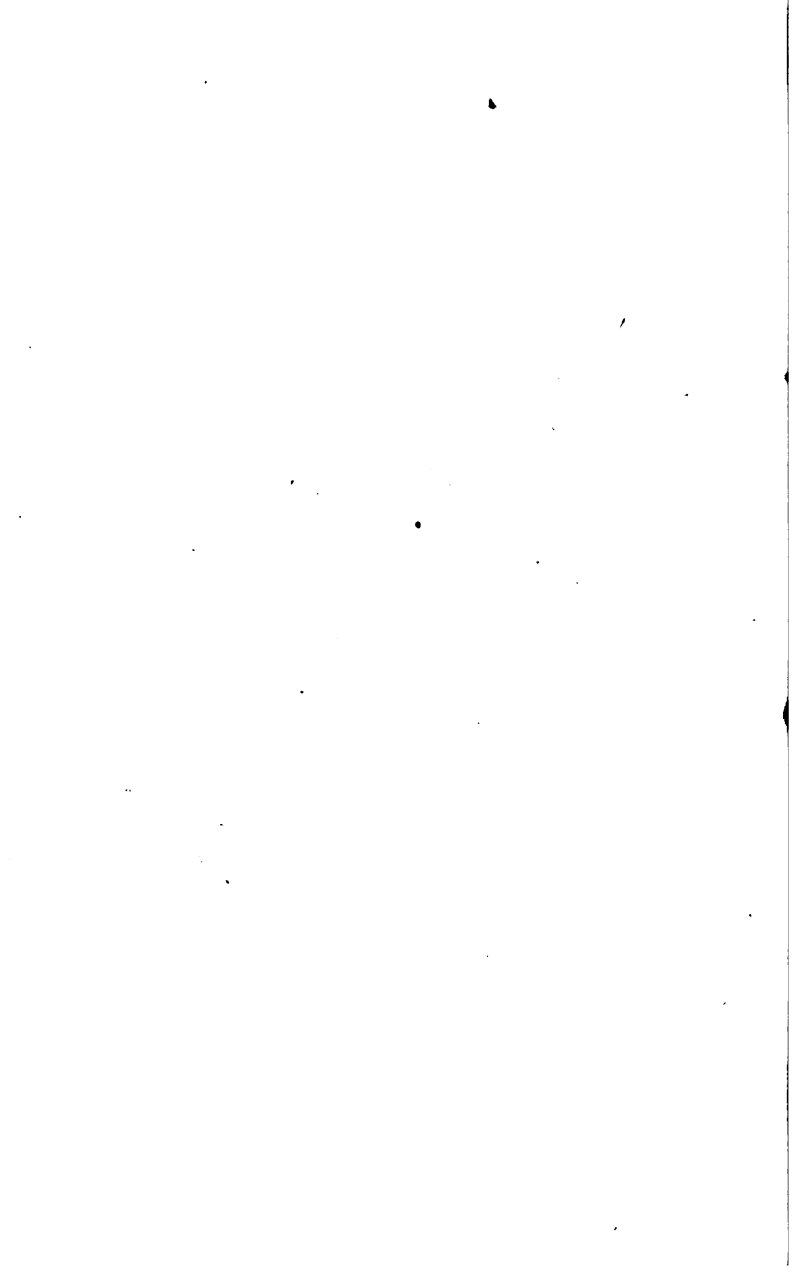


# PIONEERS OF THE NEW WORLD.

BY  
JOSEPH BAKLAND

4 Vols.

Plymouth and the Pilgrims.  
Southern Explorers and Colonists.  
Pioneers of Maryland.  
Soldiers and Patriots of the Revolution.



# **SOUTHERN EXPLORERS AND COLONISTS,**

**AS ILLUSTRATED IN**

**THE EARLY EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE FRENCH  
SETTLEMENT AT FORT CAROLINA, THE SPANISH  
COLONY AT ST. AUGUSTINE, AND THE ENGLISH  
PLANTATION AT JAMESTOWN.**

**BY JOSEPH BANVARD, D.D.**



**BOSTON:  
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## P R E F A C E .

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THE early colonial history of the Southern States abounds in incidents of a highly romantic nature, especially Florida and Virginia. Some of these have found their way into the various Histories of the United States, and others have not. A particular narration of all the events of all the states of the Union would be a work so voluminous as, by its magnitude, to deter many from its perusal. Hence writers on the history of the whole country, from its discovery, are, from the necessity of the case, obliged to condense their accounts, and even reject much that is interesting.

In this work an opposite course has been pursued. A limited extent of country and a comparatively short period of time have been embraced, and the interesting incidents which occurred within those limits minutely related. They pass before the eye in their various brilliant or sombre hues, like a continuous picture ;

enabling us to see the trials and struggles of the early settlers as they contended with the climate and the elements, with the savage Indian, or with famine and disease. This portraiture of events, in detail, imparts a far more vivid conception of the lights and shadows of colonial life than could be derived from a mere general outline.

If this volume should be the means of awakening a deeper interest in the early annals of our country, and of producing a higher appreciation of the blessings we now enjoy, by contrast with the trials of the first planters, its object will be gained.

Without mentioning all the authorities which have been consulted, it is proper to state that amongst the works from which has been derived special assistance were Hakluyt's Collection of Early Voyages; The Generall Historie of Virginia, by Captain John Smith; Stith's Essay; Bancroft's History; and the Life of Captain Smith, by George S. Hillard, in Sparks's valuable series of biographies.

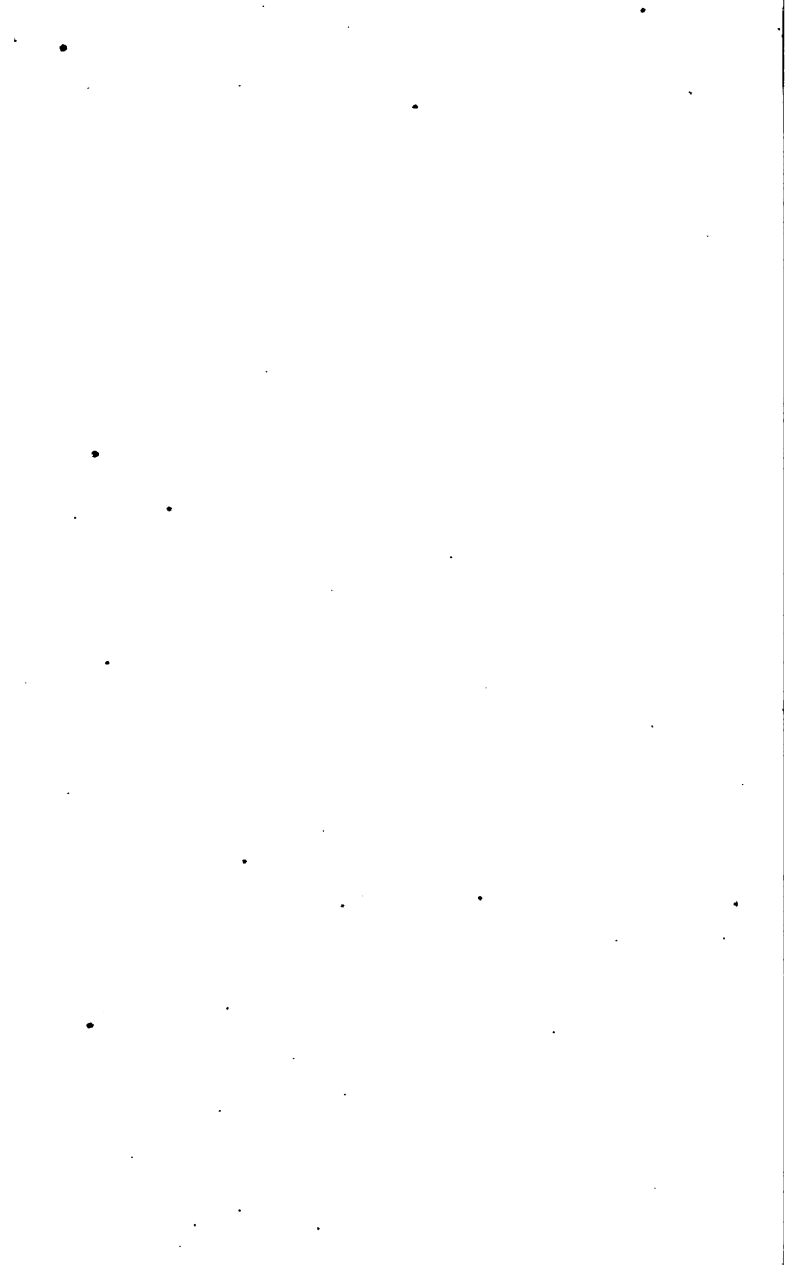
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Plymouth and the Pilgrims.  
Southern Explorers and Colonists.  
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Soldiers and Patriots of the Revolution.

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## CHAPTER I.

**Admiral de Coligny.—His Expedition.—John Ribault.—Discovers the River May.—Reception by the Indians.—Devotional Services.—Exchange of Presents.—Donation of Fish.—Search for the Jordan.—Rivers with French Names.—Fort Carolina erected.—Ribault returns.—The Colonists discontented.—They form a Conspiracy.—They kill their Commandant.—They build a Vessel.—Set out to return.—Horrors of the Passage.—Picked up at Sea.—Coligny not disheartened.—Roman Catholics and the Huguenots.—Religious Persecutions.**

A NAME which occupies a conspicuous place in the history of the early settlements of North America is that of Admiral de Coligny, a distinguished French Protestant, with whom it had long been a favorite object to establish a colony in America, as a place of safe retreat for the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were then called, where they would be secure from the persecuting edicts of a fanatical government, and of a powerful ecclesiastical hierarchy. For the accomplishment of this desired object, an expedition was finally planned, the execution of which was committed to a courageous and experienced officer of Dieppe, whose name was John Ribault. Instead of the profligate inmates of prisons, with whom some previous attempts at forming settlements in North America had

been unsuccessfully made, he was accompanied by some of the flower of the French nobility, and by soldiers of tried courage and good discipline.

Furnished with two ships, he safely crossed what was then the comparatively unknown Atlantic, and arrived upon the coast of America, near the thirtieth degree of north latitude. Whilst sailing along near the land, carefully observing the inequalities of the shore, he discovered in the month of May, 1562, the mouth of a river, which he called River of May — a name, however, which was not destined to be permanent, as it was afterwards supplanted by the "St. John's," which it still retains.

Ribault anchored at the mouth of this river for the purpose of making an examination of it. Early the next morning, a boat, well filled with men, left the ship for that purpose. As it approached the land, the men on board discovered large numbers of Indians of both sexes on the shore, who had come down to give these pale-faced strangers, who had visited them in their floating houses, a friendly reception. When they arrived within hearing, the chief of this people delivered a peaceful oration, and then made presents of chamois skins to the French captain.

On the following day, Captain Ribault planted a pillar of hard stone on a little swell of land near the mouth of the river; and on this pillar he en-

graved the arms of France, as evidence that the French had taken possession of this country.

After sailing some distance farther up, he landed again, and in the presence of the natives, he caused his men to offer prayers and thanksgiving to Almighty God for his great kindness in conducting them to this new world without the occurrence of any injury.

After these devotional services, the Indians, who had been very attentive observers, rose up, and advanced with their friendly salutations towards Ribault, and offered to introduce him to their chief, who had not arisen with the rest, but remained still sitting upon a seat covered with the leaves of the bay and palm trees. Ribault accepted of their offer, approached the chief, took a seat by his side, and listened impatiently to a long address, not one word of which could he understand. At the close of this incomprehensible speech, the chief presented the French officer with a beautiful fan of heron's feathers, dyed red, a basket ingeniously made of the branches of the palm tree, and a large skin robe elegantly embroidered with the pictures of various kinds of wild beasts, and very likely of those which he had slain in the chase. Ribault, to show that he fully appreciated these acts of courtesy, gave him in return some tin bracelets, a looking glass, a cutting hook, and several knives.

When the captain signified his intention to leave, the friendly chief professed much sorrow, and commanded his men to furnish the strangers with some fish. They immediately entered into their wears, which were enclosures made of reeds, for the taking of fish, and soon loaded the French with trouts, mullets, plaice, turbot, and various other unknown kinds.

After leaving these friendly natives, and passing farther along the coast, several other rivers were discovered, each of which received a French appellation, and generally after some river in France, as the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, &c. These names, like the May, were transient.

Whilst examining the coast in order to find the Combahee River, which was then called the Jordan, Ribault discovered a noble inlet, which he designated Port Royal — a name which it has never lost. Passing within this inlet, he landed on an island, where, by the formal erection of a monumental stone, on which was sculptured the French coat of arms, and with other appropriate ceremonies, he again took possession of the country in the name of the French king. On this island Ribault set his men to work, who, in the process of time, erected a fort, to which he gave the name of Fort Carolina, in honor of Charles IX. of France, Carolus being the Latin for Charles. This name was afterwards

extended to the adjacent country, and is still retained by two of the states of the American Union. It is a circumstance worthy of special note, that the French succeeded in impressing a permanent name upon this portion of the continent a century prior to its occupation by the English.

After the erection of Fort Carolina, it became necessary for Ribault to return to France; but being desirous to retain possession of the place until his return, he left a colony of twenty-six men for that purpose. Although these colonists were surrounded with groves of venerable trees, intermingled with the delicate drapery of the vine, and ornamented with a profusion of variegated flowers; though Nature presented herself before them arrayed in her most attractive garb, filling the groves with the wild melody of unknown birds, and loading the air with spicy fragrance; and though the untutored savages — the native lords of the soil — were of a friendly disposition, yet they soon became discontented. After the departure of the vessels, and these twenty-six adventurers were left the sole civilized occupants of a vast continent, instead of adopting the policy which their lonely situation required, and merging all minor differences into a union for the general good, they allowed dissensions to creep in amongst them. A spirit of insubordination was manifested among the



soldiers, which the commandant endeavored to suppress by severe measures. The soldiers were indignant, and determined to be revenged. They formed a conspiracy, and took the commandant's life. Thus rebellion and murder were prominent characteristics in this early attempt to form a colony upon the shores of North America.

After the death of their officer, as supplies and reënforcements did not reach them, and their condition was daily becoming worse, they concluded to return home. To effect this earnestly-desired object was no easy task. Separated from their country by a wide waste of waters of three thousand miles in extent, destitute of vessels and of suitable materials for the construction of one adequate to their purpose,—to return must have seemed almost hopeless. But men on the borders of despair can accomplish wonders. Gathering together the best materials they could find, they constructed a rude brigantine, rigged it as well as they were able, put in a few stores, and embarked upon their perilous voyage. In a few hours, they were far out upon the unexplored deep. The land of their unhappy adventures gradually sunk as they receded from it, until it appeared like a long, low, black cloud resting upon the water of the distant horizon. Presently it disappeared entirely. Day after day they slowly ploughed their way across the

heaving billows, without apparently making any progress ; for they had no landmarks by which to be made sensible of advance. The same monotonous scene was around them at night on which they opened their eyes in the morning, whilst in the morning they seemed to be in the same spot where they were when the last rays of the setting sun bade them farewell ; as if they had anchored over night to guard against danger in the dark. They seemed to be in the centre of an immense dome, without the possibility of making any approach towards the circumference. Day after day, and week after week, their eyes were greeted in every direction by the same meeting of sky and water, and at the same distance from them. All this, however, was only in appearance. They were in reality making progress, though not very rapidly. A new calamity presented itself. Either from wrong calculations respecting the length of the voyage, or the amount of food the company would consume per day, or else from necessity, they did not put on board sufficient stores to last them during the voyage. They were obliged to be put upon short allowance, and even then were doomed to see their provisions grow smaller and smaller, until the last portion was consumed. Famine, with its attendant horrors, stared them in the face. In order to continue their existence, they were

reduced to the terrific necessity of eating the flesh of one of the company ! It was a fearful expedient ; but men reduced to their extremity will resort to any measures to preserve existence.

Life is made up of contrasts. Light follows darkness, and smiles banish tears. One day, whilst they were musing upon the perils of their condition, and balancing the probabilities, favorable and unfavorable of their final deliverance, they saw indications of land. At the same time, a small white speck presented itself upon the distant horizon. It gradually increased, until they were satisfied that it was a vessel. It was a welcome sight, as it furnished them food for hope. All eyes were strained to watch its course. They steered their own vessel in the proper direction to meet it. For a time they were in suspense whether they were observed by the stranger, or whether he would pass on and leave them. Their feelings were intense. To their great joy, they succeeded in arresting his attention, speaking with him, and relating their distress. They were at once taken on board and provided for, and thus, through the intervention of a kind Providence, they were saved from starvation and from a watery grave. This vessel proved to be an English bark. Some of the men who were picked up were taken to England, and others landed in France. Thus terminated the first at-

tempt of the French to establish a colony in what was then called Florida, near the south-eastern corner of the present South Carolina.

The Admiral de Coligny, notwithstanding the disastrous close of this attempt, was not disheartened. He projected another settlement, which, however, was doomed to experience a dreadful overthrow.

Before narrating the particulars of one of the most humiliating and tragic events which occurred in the early history of this country, it is necessary to state that a civil war, with all its attendant barbarities, had been prevailing in France between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. In 1563, it was determined by the French government to dismiss all magistrates from office who were tainted with the heretical opinions of the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, and to tolerate no religion but the Catholic. This was a resolution which, as the Huguenots were numerous and powerful, could not be executed without an appeal to the sword. Accordingly, both parties immediately betook themselves to arms. Pope Pius V., the head of the Roman Catholic church, interested himself in the war, and even sent an army from Italy in aid of the French Catholics, to whom he gave the cruel order, as they left him, to slay every Huguenot they should take, and give no quarter.

The Huguenots evinced a similar spirit, and also gave no quarter. It was a war in which not only were the natural malevolent passions called into violent exercise, but sectarian bigotry and religious frenzy added fuel to the flames. Each party regarded themselves as fighting against the enemies of true religion, and as rendering good service to the church in putting them to death.

Although in the course of the next year hostilities ceased, and peace was professedly established, yet the belligerent parties cherished a burning hatred towards each other. This mutual antipathy was not confined to the French. It was diffused wherever these parties existed. Huguenots and Catholics were every where the opponents of each other, whether they belonged to the same or to different nations. This antipathy, as we shall presently see, crossed the Atlantic, and brought forth its dreadful fruits of blood and death upon the shores of the new world.

## CHAPTER II.

**Opinions respecting Florida. — Departure of Laudonniere. — Conduct of the Indians. — Dissensions. — Piracy. — Fort Carolina. — Welcome Visitors. — Kindness of Sir John Hawkins. — Spanish Claims. — Huguenots. — Religious Antipathies. — The Pirate Melendez. — His Agreement with the King. — Sets out in Pursuit of the French. — Storm at Sea. — Melendez separates from his Company. — Discovers a safe Harbor. — Its Name, and the Reason of it. — Melendez finds the French Fleet. — His cruel Message. — The French flee. — Are pursued unsuccessfully. — The oldest Town in the United States.**

THE civil war in France being arrested, the Admiral de Coligny resumed his efforts to establish a colony in some part of Florida. In addition to granting his royal permission, the French king furnished Coligny three vessels for his service, which were placed under the command of Laudonniere, a man of intelligence and force of character, and who had accompanied Ribault in his previous voyage.\* As exaggerated statements had been made respecting the salubrious character of the climate of Florida, as it was known to abound luxuriantly in various kinds of vegetable productions, and as it was believed to be rich in the precious ores, it was no wise difficult to obtain emigrants in abundance. Men

\* Bancroft.

panting for adventures, or thirsting for gold, or desiring a place of retreat from the liability of religious persecution, cheerfully presented themselves as ready to engage in the promising enterprise. As Coligny desired to obtain accurate information respecting the various objects which might be discovered in the far-off land, he engaged James Le Moyne, a skilful artist, to execute colored pictures of those which might be most deserving of attention.

The trio of ships containing the adventurers, with their stores, left France April 22, 1564, and on the 22d of June they arrived on the coast of Florida, having been sixty days upon the voyage. The commodious harbor of Port Royal being surrounded with too many painful associations to be attractive, Laudonniere passed by it in search of a more pleasing location for a settlement. After selecting the banks of the River of May, he landed, and, in company with his Huguenot brethren, commenced, with devotional services, the founding of a new colony. The Indians, instead of opposing their landing, received them with the cordiality of friends, and extended to them their unrefined but genuine hospitality. Notwithstanding the propitious circumstances under which the colony was commenced, it was not long before a dark cloud overshadowed its prospects. Although amongst the emigrants were men of good principles, yet there were others entirely destitute

of integrity, who were anxious only for the rapid increase of wealth, irrespective of the means by which it might be obtained. A mutinous disposition was manifested, which the commandant found it difficult to quell. Great wastefulness was practised in the use of food, by which their stores were soon exhausted, and want began to stare them in the face. A party among them, composed of the most insubordinate and reckless class, took advantage of this circumstance to oblige Laudonniere to give them a written permit to embark for New Spain; and then, seizing two vessels, they set sail upon a piratical expedition against the commerce of the Spaniards. Out upon the wide ocean they fell in with two or three vessels. So soon as they discerned their flag, and discovered that they were Spanish, they bore down upon them like an eagle darting upon its prey, and succeeded in making them prizes. They were not permitted, however, to rejoice in their success any great length of time. It was their experience, as it has been that of many others, that the triumphing of the wicked is short. They were themselves captured, when some of them were held as prisoners, others reduced to slavery, and a few, who made a successful attempt to escape, and returned to the colony, were there seized by Laudonniere, and sentenced to be executed.

On the banks of the May the colonists erected a



fort, to which they also gave the name of Fort Carolina. For a number of weeks they had been expecting supplies from their native land. Every little cloud that appeared upon the distant marine horizon was intensely watched, with the hope that it would enlarge into the beautiful form and proportions of a friendly ship laden with the necessary stores. But these expectations were doomed to be successively blasted, as these deceptive clouds vanished into thin air, or enlarged and gathered themselves into mountainous heaps. After enduring this painful suspense for several months, to such extremities were they reduced for the want of food, that they concluded to abandon the settlement. This determination was strengthened by the unfavorable change which had taken place in the disposition of the Indians, whose original friendship had been converted into decided hostility by the unjust severities of the colonists. As they had no vessels in which it was suitable for them to risk a voyage across the ocean, their plan was to erect some small brigantines for that purpose, when, most opportunely, the fleet of Sir John Hawkins arrived from the West Indies, where he had recently sold, at an immense profit, a cargo of human beings, whom he had torn from their native homes in Africa. It is an humiliating fact, that among the first marine employments upon the coast of America we find piracy and the slave trade !

Man is a bundle of inconsistencies. The most opposite traits of character are sometimes exhibited by the same individual, as was the case with this English slave trader. What could have been more cruel than the employment of Sir John Hawkins upon the coast of Africa, when tearing husbands from their wives, and parents from their children, with all the horrid accompaniments, to transport them amid the darkness, the stench, and the noisomeness of the "middle passage," across the wide Atlantic, in order to reduce them to hopeless bondage in a foreign land ! And yet, when Hawkins found the colony of Laudohniere, on the coast of Florida, in a suffering condition, his compassion was excited ; he supplied them liberally with provisions, and even furnished them with a vessel from his own fleet to convey them back to France.

After the preparations were completed, and the colony was on the eve of embarking, another fleet was descried entering the river and sailing towards the new settlement, which entirely changed the plans of the immigrants. These visitors proved to be the long-looked for reënforcements, bringing food, seeds for planting, agricultural implements, and a variety of domestic animals for raising stock. They were under the direction of Ribault, who had come to take the command of the colony. Sadness now gave place to joy. The idea of returning home was

abandoned, and the whole company went to work as if the point was settled that that was to be their permanent residence.

It must be remembered than more than fifty years prior to this settlement of the French, this country was discovered by Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, in his search after the fabled fountain of perpetual youth, from whom it received the name of Florida, and that upon his discovery was based the Spanish claim to the whole of North America. Fernando de Soto, a few years later, (1539,) also visited the country, and took formal possession of it in the name of the Spanish Emperor Charles V. De Soto explored a large portion of the territory, and during his romantic wanderings, buried a large number of the bravest cavaliers of Spain. These claims the Spanish never relinquished, and, consequently, the French settlement at Fort Carolina was regarded as an encroachment upon the Spanish dominions. This of itself might have been deemed by them a sufficient justification of any attempt to drive the French intruders from the soil. In addition to this political reason was another of a religious character. These Huguenots, as we have seen, were Protestants, but the Spanish court, and the nation generally, were Roman Catholics. Thus in their religious views and feelings they were the antagonists of each other; and any measures, however severe, for the exclusion of these

Huguenot Calvinists from the Spanish domain would be regarded by the bigoted Spaniards as acceptable service to Holy Mother Church. These facts will enable the reader to appreciate the tragic events which we are now about to relate.

At the court of Spain there figured a naval officer who had spent many eventful years in his professional pursuits, and who, by a naturally fierce disposition and his familiarity with scenes of carnage and of death, was well fitted to engage in any work of sanguinary cruelty. His name was Pedro Melendez. With this pirate hunter, who himself had been convicted of crime, Philip II. of Spain entered into an agreement to secure the conquest of Florida. As the conditions of that agreement shed light upon those early periods of our history, it is deemed desirable here to insert them.

Melendez engaged to invade the country with not less than five hundred men ; to subdue it within three years ; to explore its currents, channels, coasts, and harbors ; to form a settlement of at least five hundred persons, one fifth of whom should be married men, and sixteen Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, of whom four were to be Jesuits ; and all this at his own expense. He was also to introduce into the colony a variety of domestic animals ; and, last of all, as sugar was expected to become one of the staple productions of the country, he stipulated to

import five hundred negro slaves into the new country!

The king, on his part, appointed Melendez governor of Florida for life, with the privilege of nominating his successor; allowed him an annual salary from the colonial revenues; assigned to him a territory of seventy-five square miles in the neighborhood of the settlement, and a fifteenth of all the perquisites belonging to the king.

The departure of Melendez from Spain was hastened by the intelligence that the French Protestants had already established themselves in the Spanish dominions in the new world. National antipathy and religious fanaticism, combined, created a high degree of sympathy among the people, in the expedition which was in progress; the result of which was, that above twenty-five hundred persons, embracing sailors, soldiers, ecclesiastics, farmers, and mechanics, among whom were married men and their families, engaged to go; all of whom were to be sent at the expense of the notorious Melendez. In addition to these were three hundred soldiers, who accompanied the expedition at the expense of the government.

All things being ready, the crusaders set sail in the month of July, 1565; but they had not been at sea many days before they were overtaken by a violent tempest, which scattered the fleet. Melendez

kept on his voyage, and arrived at St. John, in the Island of Porto Rico, with only one third of his fleet. Without waiting for the arrival of the rest of his company, he set sail for Florida, and on the 28th of August, being the anniversary of St. Augustine, he came in sight of the coast. Not knowing where the French, of whom he was in pursuit, had planted themselves, he sailed along the coast, keeping a good lookout landward, with the hope of making a successful descent upon them. Whilst engaged in this search, he discovered a river, and a convenient, safe harbor, to which he gave the name of St. Augustine, in honor of the saint on whose anniversary he came upon the coast. Having obtained what information he could from the Indians relative to the location of the French, he left St. Augustine, and continued his course to the north, and in two or three days had the pleasure of seeing the masts of the French vessels piercing the distant horizon, like the barren tops of the pine, rising above the surface of the water from some sunken island. This was the fleet of Ribault, which had recently arrived with reënforcements to Fort Carolina, on the May. When the French saw the approach of these strangers, they sent to them to inquire who they were and what were their objects. The answer was characteristic of the ferocious Spaniard. He told them that he was Melendez of Spain, and had

come at the command of his king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants that he found in Florida. "The Catholic," said he, "I will spare, but every heretic shall die!" This reply fell upon their ears like the knell of death. Taken by such sudden surprise, they at first knew not what measures to adopt. But a moment's reflection convinced them that it would be foolish temerity to engage in conflict with them; and as they did not wish to be taken prisoners, nor try the sensations of the threatened gibbet or axe, they slipped their cables and run out to sea. The Spaniards gave chase; but being unsuccessful in overtaking them, they returned to their newly-discovered harbor of St. Augustine, which they reached September 7, celebrated by the Catholics as the birthday of Mary. About noon, Melendez, with a company of his followers, went on shore, took formal possession of the continent in the name of his king, Philip II. of Spain, and then, in connection with the imposing service of the mass, laid the foundation of St. Augustine. This is the oldest town in the United States, it having been established more than forty years before any other. The Pilgrim Fathers did not land upon Plymouth rock till the 21st of December, 1620, fifty-five years after the founding of St. Augustine.

?

Jamestown?

Why Plymouth?

Became Jamestown, 1607  
 permanent settlement

## CHAPTER III.

Ribault returns. — Fears. — Divided Counsels. — A Great Tempest. — Spaniards attack the French. — Scenes of Carnage. — Unnecessary Cruelty. — Religious Ceremonies. — Deceptive Offers. — Captives murdered. — The Catholics spared. — Insulting Sentence. — Justification. — Royal Indifference. — De Gourgues seeks Revenge. — Attacks the Spaniards. — Is successful. — Retaliatory Sentence. — The French relinquish Florida.

WHEN Ribault, the French commander, saw that the Spanish fleet, under Pedro Melendez, had relinquished the pursuit of him, he returned to his Huguenot friends at Fort Carolina, whom he found in a state of considerable agitation, lest the unwelcome visits of the Spaniards might be renewed. They were disappointed, perplexed, and provoked. They had fled from persecutors in their own country, in order that amid the solitudes of the new world they might enjoy freedom to worship God; and before they had become fairly settled in their expected land of rest, their enemies were upon them, thirsting, like so many bloodhounds, for their death. Opinions among the colonists were divided. Some were in favor of strengthening their position, assuming a defensive attitude, and quietly waiting the approach of the enemy. Others thought it wiser policy to pursue them with the ships, and engage in



conflict with them upon the ocean. This was the opinion of Ribault, and it prevailed. He accordingly sailed with his fleet, and thus withdrew from the colony the protection he might have extended to them if he had remained. He had not been gone long before the heavens were shrouded in gloom; the wind blew at a fearful rate; the waves rolled like mountains; a terrific tempest came down upon him, scattering his fleet, driving them to the south, and sending every one of them on the rock-bound shore of Florida, a fatal wreck. The Spanish fleet suffered but little.

The French at Fort Carolina were expecting the attack of the Spaniards from the sea. Instead of this, Melendez landed his troops, and, marching through the dense forests and deceitful everglades which intervened between St. Augustine and the French settlement, he attacked the feeble company from an unexpected quarter, and, after a short engagement, he made himself master of their position. Now followed a scene of carnage in perfect keeping with the ferocious disposition of the successful Spaniard. Not satisfied with making them prisoners, he gave them up to the sword. Our heart sickens at the description of the horrid scene. Not only the soldiers, but the aged, the sick, helpless women and harmless children, were butchered in cold blood. A few succeeded in concealing

themselves in the surrounding woods, but they could not long remain there; yet, when they gave themselves up to their conquerors, they were massacred like the rest. Not satisfied with this, the Spaniards wreaked their inordinate vengeance upon the dead, by mutilating their bodies in a barbarous manner. The number slain in this fearful struggle was about two hundred.

As this victory was achieved on the festival of St. Matthew, the Spaniards called the River May the St. Mattheo. Both of these names, however, have given place to the St. John's. After this dreadful tragedy was over, the bloodstained murderers, in solemn mockery, engaged in religious services. With Romish rites, they planted a cross upon the spot, still wet with the blood of the worshippers of the Crucified, observed the idolatrous service of the mass, and even designated a place where these cruelties had been enacted, for a church, to the honor of Him who, both by example and precept, has taught us to pray for our enemies, and bless those who despitefully use us.

It was not long before the shipwrecked men of Ribault's fleet were discovered. Having, by their misfortunes, lost all their food and water, and having endured great suffering and fatigue, they were reduced to extreme helplessness. The victorious Spaniard invited them to confide in his

clemency. It was the tiger offering compassion to the helpless lamb, for whose blood it was thirsting. Yet what could these famishing mariners do? Being without ships, they could not escape; being without stores, they could not survive. As the proffered mercy of their enemies afforded them their only gleam of hope, they delivered themselves into their hands. No sooner did Melendez find himself in possession of these hapless mariners, than he bound their arms behind them, and obliged them, in that condition, to march to St. Augustine. As these manacled captives approached the fort which Melendez had there erected, not knowing the fate which awaited them, a fatal signal was given, when the nefarious Spaniards pounced upon their defenceless prisoners, and slew them without mercy, their agonizing shrieks being drowned by the sound of trumpets and the roll of drums. A few among them, who were Catholics, were spared, as Melendez had said. Some mechanics, also, who were qualified to render useful services to the Spaniards, escaped the common doom, and were reduced to slavery among them. All the others were ruthlessly slain. As a slight extenuation of his cruelty, Melendez stated that he killed them "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." He justified it not on national, but religious grounds. The whole number who perished in these two

massacres is said by the French to have been nearly a thousand.

The widows and children of those who were slain by Melendez, in Florida, addressed a pathetic supplication to the French throne. But as the French court at that time were in sympathy with the Roman Catholic church, they made no response to the appeal. They neither granted relief to the bereaved, nor avenged the death of the slain. It is not always the case that a nation harmonize in their views and feelings with the court. In religious opinions and in measures of state policy they may widely differ. In the present case, many of the French people were deeply grieved for those whose friends had perished through the cruelty of Melendez. Among them was Dominic de Gourgues, who, among various other adventures as a soldier, had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards. Being glad of any pretence to engage in conflict with his old enemies, and revenge himself for injuries received, Gourgues offered his services in the present case. By combining his own pecuniary resources with the contributions furnished him by his friends, he succeeded in fitting out three ships, with a complement of a hundred and fifty men. With these he set sail for America, in search of those who had, with such savage cruelty, destroyed the French settlement on the River May. He directed his course

to Fort Carolina, where he found the Spaniards occupying the place of the colony which they had overthrown. Two forts had been erected near the mouth of the river. These he attacked, and succeeded in taking the more important of them, with a number of prisoners ; but finding it difficult to retain his position, he concluded to abandon it. Previous to this, it became necessary to decide upon the fate of the prisoners. Shall they be liberated ? shall they be carried captives to France ? or shall they be slain ? Gourgues was not long in coming to a decision. He had crossed the Atlantic for purposes of revenge, and was determined not to be disappointed. Besides, as the Spaniards, in the previous massacres, had insultingly declared that they slew their enemies "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans," Gourgues was determined to retaliate in the same manner. The prisoners were doomed to death, but were not to be honored with military execution by powder and ball. They were sentenced to be hung. The trees furnished a convenient gallows. On their branches the wretched Spaniards were hanged, with the inscription of Gourgues over them : "I do this, not as to Spaniards or seamen, but as to robbers, traitors, and murderers." He then hastily embarked on board his vessels, and returned to France. The French government made no effort to follow up his success,

nor replant a colony in Florida. Indeed, it repudiated all pretension to the country. It voluntarily relinquished all claim, to the Spaniards, who eagerly seized it as a part of their dominion, to which they were fairly entitled by the right of discovery. If France had pursued an opposite course, — if she had settled colonies here, and strengthened them to sustain their position, — she would have been able to divide the country with Spain, and, in a few years, would have found herself in possession of a vast and important empire. Her government failed to appreciate the value of the possessions which were within reach. In consequence of their want of foresight, their imbecility, and their unwillingness to give offence to a neighboring Catholic power, the French allowed the vast and promising domain of Florida to slip from their possession into the hands of Spain.

## CHAPTER IV.

Catholic Priests. — Augustin Ruyz. — New Mexico explored. — Sir Humphrey Gilbert. — Visits Newfoundland. — Supposed Discovery of Silver. — Secret mining Operations. — A Vessel lost. — Severe Weather. — Sir Humphrey lost in the Squirrel. — Sir Walter Raleigh. — His Perseverance. — Wococon. — Interviews with the Natives. — Granganimeo. — His Court Etiquette. — Visit of Ceremony. — His Wife. — Their Dresses. — The Chief's Monopoly.

AMONGST the earliest explorers of this country, none exhibited more hardihood, patience, self-denial, and perseverance than the Catholic ecclesiastics. Sometimes in company with bands of settlers, and sometimes alone, they penetrated into the interior, and exposed themselves to the diseases of climates to which they were unaccustomed — to the perils of pathless woods, impassable mountains, wild beasts, and savage men.

Notwithstanding our aversion to the dogmas, the superstition, and the persecuting bigotry of the Catholic church, we are not disposed to withhold our meed of praise from those of her priests, who, believing that the uncivilized inhabitants of this newly-discovered world were hastening on to the regions of eternal night, cherished a sincere desire to instruct them in the principles of what they believed to be the true religion, and thus to save

their souls from death. Their examples of zeal, patience, and self-sacrifice are worthy of the imitation of those who arrogate to themselves a better faith.

In 1580, about sixteen years after the settlement of St. Augustine, a Franciscan friar by the name of Augustin Ruyz, having caught the same missionary spirit by which other Spanish ecclesiastics were at that time moved, formed the bold design of penetrating far into the interior of the American continent, that he might teach the benighted Indians the way of life. Leaving Santa Barbara, in Mexico, he, in company with two or three others, plunged into the unexplored regions of the north, until he reached the Rio Grande River, which he followed to its upper branches. The next year, Antonio de Espejo followed him. The explorations were finished. The country received the name of New Mexico; and there, in the midst of a mountainous region, near one of the branches of the Rio Grande, was founded Santa Fe, the second town in the United States.

Although the continent of North America had been discovered by the English many years before it was visited by the Spaniards or the French, (the Cabots having seen it in 1497,) yet no colonies had been formed; nor any vigorous measures adopted by the English government to enter upon its possession.



It was not until 1578 that the English court were aroused to the importance of effort for securing some permanent benefit from their splendid discovery. At this time, letters patent were granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, conferring upon him very liberal privileges, in case he established a colony within six years. After he collected a company, he met with perplexing disappointments and provoking delays before he could put to sea. After setting sail, he unfortunately met with several disasters. He first fell in with a Spanish fleet, with which he had an unsuccessful engagement. He was next overtaken by a violent storm, which destroyed one of his vessels, so that he was compelled to return.

Being too poor to fit out another enterprise, Gilbert was obliged to content himself, for several years, by making grants to other parties, of lands for them to colonize. These grants, however, produced no permanent results, as the parties receiving them were unable to establish settlements.

The time which was allotted to Gilbert, by his patent, to found a colony in the new world, was rapidly drawing to a close, without any thing being accomplished. He was determined to make one effort more prior to its complete expiration. With the assistance of others, he fitted out three ships, set sail, and arrived at Newfoundland, where, in the harbor of St. John's, he found nearly forty

vessels, of various nations. In the presence of their crews he took formal possession of that large island in the name of her majesty, Queen Elizabeth of England. The country was examined, and the explorers thought they discovered silver ore. They were ordered to lock the secret in their own breasts. Not being willing to leave all these priceless treasures behind them, quantities of the ore were conveyed on board one of their vessels, but in so secret a manner that the crews of the other vessels in the harbor had no suspicion of what was in progress. After this, Gilbert, with his fleet, coasted south. His mariners proved to be a set of dissatisfied, thievish, and piratical fellows, disposed to molest and rob every vessel that they dared to attack. It was not long before the largest of the fleet, through the inexcusable neglect of those on board, was wrecked, with the loss of all the ore, and about a hundred men. After this mournful event, Gilbert hastened his return to England with his only two remaining vessels—the Squirrel and the Hind. He was in the former, which was a very small frigate, of only ten tons, and unfit to navigate tempestuous oceans. On their return, they experienced severe weather. The wind blew violently, and the waves rolled like mountains capped with snow. The vessels were in imminent peril; yet they kept as near together as was compatible with safety.

At one time, when they were within speaking distance, the commander, who was sitting in the stern of the Squirrel, called out to those in the Hind, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." The same midnight, the Squirrel was engulfed in the mighty waters, and neither vessel nor crew was ever heard of again.

Thus unsuccessful was the termination of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's efforts to establish colonies in America.

The next adventurer who appeared upon the stage, and attempted to try his fortunes in the new world, was the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, a half brother to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He had been so far interested in the enterprise of Sir Humphrey, as to furnish and fit out, at his own expense, the largest vessel of his fleet; and some say that Raleigh entered upon the expedition himself, and commanded his own ship in person. In a few days, however, the vessel was obliged to put back, in consequence, as was pretended, of a dangerous and contagious sickness among her company. Sir Walter was a man of great perseverance, and was not to be disheartened by the unfortunate return of his vessel, nor the sad fate of his half brother. Having received liberal patents from Queen Elizabeth of England, and having induced others to unite with him in the enterprise, Raleigh

fitted out two small vessels, which he placed under the command of Captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow.

On the 27th of April, 1584, these two vessels left the Thames, in England, and after the usual circuitous course generally pursued in those days, touching at the Canaries and the West Indies, they arrived on the 2d of July upon the coast of North Carolina, then called, as was the whole country, Florida. After sailing a hundred and twenty miles along the coast, they entered an inlet, and landed upon the Island of Wococon, which separates Pamlico Sound from the Atlantic, where religious services were performed, and the country taken possession of in the name of Queen Elizabeth. This being over, they entered upon an examination of the place. They found that the spot where they landed was low and sandy, "but so full of grapes that the very surge of the sea sometimes overflowed them; of which they found such plenty in all places, both on the sand, the greene soyle, and hils, as in the plaines as well as on euery little shrub; as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that they did thinke in the world were not the like abundance." They soon discovered that what they had supposed was the main land was only an island, about twenty miles long and six broad. Upon discharging their muskets, such an immense number

of snow-white cranes arose from their concealment, that the noise of their cries was "as if an army of men had shouted altogether." They found that the island was well wooded with various kinds of fragrant and useful trees, among which were cypress, sassafras, the lentisk, or "the tree that beareth mastic, and the tree that beareth the rine of blacke sinamon." They remained near this beautifully wooded island two days, without seeing any of the inhabitants; but on the third day, a canoe glided from the shore, containing three half-naked, swarthy savages, who landed on the island, "four harquebuz-shot from our shippes," two of whom remained with the canoe, as if to guard it, whilst the third came down on a point of land nearer to the vessels, and walked to and fro, as if to attract attention. Some of the officers of the ships immediately put off for the shore, as they desired to open communications with the natives, and obtain all the information in their power. The Indian saw their approach towards him, but without exhibiting the least fear, he raised his voice as soon as they arrived within hearing distance, and delivered a long harangue, not one word of which could they understand. As the English manifested towards him a friendly spirit, he did not retreat from their superior numbers, but at their invitation voluntarily accompanied them on board the ships.

After exhibiting to him all parts of the vesse , they treated him to wine and meat, which he seemed greatly to relish. . They also gave him a hat, shirt, and several other articles, after which he left them and returned to his canoe. It seems that this tawny son of the desert felt grateful for the kindness he had received, and was desirous of giving some expression to his feelings. He therefore paddled a short distance from the island, and commenced fishing. In the space of half an hour, he caught as many as his canoe would hold, and then, returning to the point of land which was nearest to the vessels, and where he was previously seen walking to and fro, he divided his fish in two piles, and then, by signs, indicated that he gave them to the two vessels, and departed.

The next day, the English were honored with visitors of great distinction, who approached them with no little ceremony. A number of canoes were seen gliding over the water, filled with men, who disembarked upon the island, placed all their canoes together, and then came down on the shore opposite the ships. They were closely observed by those on board, who soon discovered that one among them was some honored personage ; for, as he walked along, they noticed that he was followed by forty or fifty others ; and when he arrived at the place over against the ships, where he doubtless

expected to have an interview with these white strangers, his attendants spread a long mat upon the ground, on one end of which he took his seat in Indian style, and on the other end four others, who were persons of some distinction, seated themselves. The rest of his men were arranged around him, at a respectful distance, as a kind of body guard.

Some of the English left the vessels in a small boat, and approached towards them with weapons, but without exciting any fears. When they arrived where the Indians were, he who appeared to be the chief among them, and whose name was Granganimeo, invited them by signs to take a seat on the mat near himself, which they did; "and being set, hee made all signes of ioy and welcome, striking on his head and breast, and afterwards on ours, to shew we were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue and familiaritie. After he had made a long speech unto vs, wee presented him with diuers things, which hee received very ioyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speake one worde all the time; only the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly."\* The king, whose name was Wingina, was not present at this interview,

\* Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages.

being detained at home in consequence of wounds which he had received in a battle with the king of the adjoining country. The country over which Wingina reigned was called Wingandacoa. In addition to the donations given to Granganimeo, they gave several to the four individuals who sat on the other end of the mat ; but in a few minutes the chief arose, took all these additional gifts, and appropriated them to himself, informing the English, as well as he was able, that all things must be given to him, as the other Indians were merely his followers and servants.

A few days after this, they had another interview with this chief, when they engaged in some trading operations for skins. Of all things they exhibited, that with which he was the most pleased was a bright tin dish. He seized it, held it up, examined it, placed it over his heart, as if it were a breast-plate, and afterwards made a hole through the edge of it, and suspended it from his neck, at the same time signifying that it would ward off the arrows of his enemies. So highly did he prize this, that he gave for it twenty skins, worth twenty crowns. For a copper kettle he gave fifty skins, worth fifty crowns. They gave what to us seems a high price for these articles. But we must remember that to them these utensils were great rarities, and might be used for important purposes. They also offered



good exchange for hatchets, axes, knives, and would have given any thing in their possession for swords; but with these the English would not part.

A few days subsequent to this, they succeeded in inducing Granganimeo to go on board the ships, where he had an opportunity of inspecting the wonders of these strange floating houses. He was received with the accustomed hospitality of the English, and furnished with wine, meat, &c., which he relished exceedingly, and with which he became very merry. He also brought his wife, daughter, and two or three children on board. His wife was small, good looking, but very bashful. Over her back was thrown a skin dressed with the fur on. She wore it with the fur side next to her person. In front was another of the same kind. Her forehead was ornamented with a band of white coral. From her ears a chain of pearls as large as peas was suspended, which reached half way to the ground. Other women of the tribe had copper ornaments dangling from their ears. Some of the children of Granganimeo and some of the chiefs had five or six in each ear. Upon his own head he wore a broad plate of yellow metal; but whether it was gold or copper, the English could not tell, as it was unpolished, and he would not remove it from his head for their examination. It was adjusted in such a manner upon his head,

that by "feeling it, it would bow very easily." His dress was of skins, and worn very much in the same manner as his wife's. The women wore their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. It is generally supposed that the hair of the American Indians is uniformly black; but in the account of this visit by one of the party, it is stated of them, "They are of a color yellowish, and their hair black, for the most part; and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut-colored hair."

After this, large numbers of the natives came from all parts of the surrounding country, bringing with them leather, coral, and dye-stuffs, for purposes of trade. Yet such was the peculiar etiquette observed among them, that when Granganimeo was present, he monopolized the whole trade himself. None of his men were allowed to barter in his presence "except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads, like himself; for that is the difference between the noblemen and governors of countries, and the meaner sort."

## CHAPTER V.

Indian Prudence. — Method of making Canoes. — Character of Granganimeo. — Visit to Roanoke. — Indian Hospitality. — Female Kindness. — Character and Habits of the Natives. — English Timidity. — Gratitude. — Shipwrecked white Men. — Their fatal Adventure. — Wonder of the Natives. — Their Weapons and Modes of Warfare. — The Secotanites. — A great Feast. — A dreadful Slaughter. — The English Captain's Return Home. — They take with them two Indians.

It was usual for Granganimeo, whenever he visited the English, to kindle as many fires on the shore, at a good distance from the vessels, as equalled the number of canoes with which he intended to make his approach, so that those on board might know in what strength he was about to visit them. These canoes "are made of one tree, either of pine or pitch trees; a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England." So says the account. "They have no edge tools to make them withal: if they have any, they are very few, and those, it seems, they had twenty years since, which was out of a wreck which happened upon their coast, of some Christian ship being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out

of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats is this: They burn down some great tree, or take such as are windfallen, and putting gum and rosin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their



Making a Canoe.

shells; and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider, they lay on gums, which burn away the timber; and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth."

When the wife of Granganimec visited them, which she did many times, she was accompanied by forty or fifty women; all of whom, with two or three exceptions, she made remain on the shore whilst she went on board the vessel.

Granganimeo was a fine specimen of a chief. He was faithful to his promises; for many times the English let him have articles of merchandise on credit to take away, but always, when the day on which he promised to pay for them arrived, he was on hand, ready to keep his word. Every day he sent them a brace of fat bucks, conies, hares, and fish. He also furnished them with various kinds of fruits, such as melons, cucumbers, gourds, walnuts, peas, and different kinds of roots, which were very palatable to the taste. The soil was extremely fertile. Peas which the English planted were, in ten days, fourteen inches high. Beans of various colors, with wheat, oats, and corn, abounded among them.

After the Indians had been aboard the vessels a number of times, it was considered desirable to return their visits. Accordingly, the captain of one of the vessels and seven of the men went up a river, which the Indians called Occam, and which is believed to be Pamlico Sound, until they reached an island, then as now called Roanoke. On the north end of this island they found a village of nine houses,

built of cedar, and fortified with a stockade of trees, as a protection against enemies. The entrance to it was made like a turnpike, very artificially. As the English approached it, the wife of Granganimeo, the king's brother, came running out to meet them in the most cheerful and friendly manner. Her husband was then absent. The account of this visit, as given by the parties, is so interesting that we shall use their own language in describing it. "Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on the shore for the beating of the billow; others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the utter room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes, and washed them and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings, and washed them; some washed our feet in warm water; and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

"After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house some wheat-like furmentle, sodden venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boiled and roasted; melons, raw and sodden, roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly

water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras and divers others wholesome and medicinalle herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth. Their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons; but as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate

again. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She, perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women to sit all night on the bank side by us, and sent us into our boats five mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses; but because we were few, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure any thing, although there was no cause of doubt; for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial."

• This Indian squaw had herself, as we have seen, been on board the vessels of the English, where both she and her husband had been treated with kindness. She seems to have been impelled by a sense of gratitude to reciprocate their kindness, and was grieved that her visitors did not have as much confidence in her friendliness as she and her distinguished husband had manifested in theirs. Her hospitality seems to have been munificent, and nothing was left undone which was necessary for the safety or the comfort of her guests.

On this visit the English gained some vague in-



formation respecting other white persons who had visited this coast. They were informed that four days' journey to the south-west was a city called Secotan, and that twenty-six years before, a ship was there cast away, some of the crew of which were white, and were successful in escaping from the wreck. After remaining three weeks upon an uninhabited island, they, with the assistance of some of the inhabitants of Secotan who had found them out, fastened two Indian canoes together, erected masts, took off their shirts and converted them into sails, and then boldly put out to sea. It was a hare-brained adventure, and none but men on the verge of desperation would have engaged in it. A few days after, their crazy vessel was found cast ashore upon another island, from which it was evident that they had been cast away. These individuals were seen only by the inhabitants of Secctan. Yet when they saw these others, the account states, "they wondered marvellously at the whiteness of our skins, even coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides, they had our ships in marvellous admiration, and all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an arquebus, they would tremble thereat for very fear, and for the strangeness of the same; for the weapons which themselves use are bows and arrows.

The arrows are bits of small canes, headed with a sharp shell, or tooth of a fish, sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swords be of wood hardened; likewise they use wooden breastplates for their defence. They have beside a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag or other beast. When they go to wars, they carry about with them their idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans were wont of the oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towards the battle, instead of drums and trumpets; their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civil dissensions, which have happened of late years among them, the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate."

Adjoining the Secotanites was a tribe of Indians, the name of whose king was Piamacum, between whom and the people of Secotan there had been violent and sanguinary wars. Although peace had been arranged between them, yet there were acts of perfidy which the Secotanites could not forget, and which they were anxious to avenge. On one occasion, a great feast was appointed, to which many men and women of the other tribe were invited, and when they were all together, indulging in promiscuous merriment, and worshipping their idol without the least fear of being betrayed, the chief of the town where the feast was held came suddenly upon them with a

band of his deceitful warriors, and slew every one of the men. The women and children he preserved, perhaps to reduce them to bondage, as that was commonly the way in which they disposed of their prisoners.

After Captains Amidas and Barlow had made all the examination and obtained all the information in their power, they sailed for England, where they arrived about the middle of September. They took with them to England two of the natives, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

## CHAPTER VI:

Glowing Accounts of the new Countries. — Origin of the Name Virginia. — Sir Walter Raleigh's Privileges. — Greenville's Expedition. — Touch at Porto Rico. — False Promises. — Fiery Retaliation. — Banquets. — Bull Hunt. — Bargaining. — Dangerous Sport. — Fine Fishing. — A Message to Wingina. — Exploring Expedition. — The stolen Cup. — Severe Revenge. — Granganimeo's last Visit. — Greenville returns. — Comparative Dates.

WHEN Captains Amidas and Barlow returned to England, they gave such glowing and exaggerated accounts of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the gentle disposition of the natives, as greatly pleased the English, and induced Queen Elizabeth, in commemoration of her own unmarried state, "or as some have been pleased to gloss and interpret it, because it still seemed to retain the virgin purity and plenty of the first creation, and the people their primitive innocence of life and manners," to call it *Virginia*.

Soon after their return, Sir Walter Raleigh was elected to Parliament, and received also the honor of knighthood. His patent for prosecuting discoveries in foreign lands was confirmed, and that he might have an enlarged income to assist in defraying the expenses of his colonial enterprises, there was granted to him the monopoly of trade in sweet wines,

from which it was expected he would receive a handsome revenue.

Encouraged by the flattering reports of his returned officers, Raleigh lost no time in making arrangements for another expedition. This beautiful



Portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh.

paradise which had been discovered, where, from the accounts of its visitors, it seemed as though earth and sea, atmosphere and sun, its inhabitants and its natural productions, had all combined to render it the most delightful residence in the world, was to be colonized immediately.

The new expedition consisted of seven vessels and one hundred and eight colonists, under the command of Sir Richard Greenville. Upon their arrival on the shores of the new world, the colony was to be governed by Mr. Ralph Lane. Among other distinguished persons who went out with this company was a skilful artist, by the name of With, who had been employed to make sketches of the personal appearance and the singular customs of the natives.

On the 9th day of April, 1585, the expedition set sail from Plymouth, in England. On the 12th of May, they reached the Island of St. John, of Porto Rico.\* They here spent a number of days in building a pinnace, the timber for which they had to draw three miles. The island belonged to the Spaniards, who were not on friendly terms with the English. A number of them made their appearance on various occasions, but did not dare to attack these unwelcome visitors. On the 23d of May, they finished and launched their pinnace. The Spaniards, in an interview which they had with some of the English, having ascertained that they did not intend to remain there, but were merely building a small vessel with which they would soon all depart, promised to furnish them with supplies of food. But after waiting some time and not receiving the prom-

\* Greenville, in Hakluyt.

ised supplies, the English were indignant, and to revenge themselves they set the woods on fire, and also the fort where they had built their pinnacle. This did no good ; it brought no victuals, and instead of allaying the animosity of the Spaniards, it must have greatly increased it.

Greenville and his company were anxious to leave St. Johns, for though the Spaniards did not attack them, there was another enemy, of great courage and of indomitable perseverance, whose vigilance was ever awake, and whose weapons were always ready, and from whom retreat or concealment was impossible. These were the clouds of bloodthirsty mosquitoes which infested the island, and which were a constant annoyance to the English.

They left St. Johns on the 29th, and the same night they fell in with a Spanish frigate. As soon as the Spaniards saw the English fleet bearing down upon them, they took to their small boats and fled, leaving their vessel a prey to the enemy. Early the next morning they made a prize of another Spanish frigate, with rich freight and various Spaniards of distinction on board. These latter were afterwards ransomed at high rates. On the 30th they arrived at the Island of Hispaniola, where they were received with great courtesy. They here honored the Spaniards with a banquet, who reciprocated it with a bull hunt. The account of that interview, as given

in the journal of the voyage, is as follows: "The 5th of June, the governor of Isabella, (a town on the north side of Hispaniola,) accompanied with a lustie friar and twenty other Spaniards, with their servants and negroes, came down to the seaside, where our ships rode at anchor, who being seen, our general manned immediately the most part of his boats with the chief men of our fleet, every man appointed and furnished in the best sort. At the landing of our general, the Spanish governor received him very courteously, and the Spanish gentlemen saluted our English gentlemen, and their inferior sort did also salute our soldiers and seamen, liking our men and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in fear of us, and of so many of our boats, whereof they desired that all might not land their men; yet in the end the courtesies which passed on both sides were so great that all fear and mistrust on the Spaniards' part was abandoned.

"In the mean time, while our English general and the Spanish governor discoursed betwixt them of divers matters, as of the state of the country, the multitude of the towns and people, and the commodities of the island, our men provided two banqueting houses, covered with green boughs, the one for the gentlemen, the other for the servants; and a sumptuous banquet was brought in, served by us all



in plate, with the sound of trumpets and concert of music, wherewith the Spaniards were more than delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniards, in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great herd of white bulls and kine to be brought together from the mountains, and appointed for every gentle-



Spanish Bull Hunt.

man and captain that would ride, a horse ready saddled, and then singled out three of the best of them, to be hunted by horsemen after their manner, so that the pastime grew very pleasant for the space of three hours, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one took the sea, and there was slain

with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts; and the next day we played the merchants in bargaining with them by way of truck and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, bulls, goats, swine, sheep, bull hides, sugar, ginger, pearl, tobacco, and such like commodities of the island."

The courtesy of the Spanish on this occasion was, by the English, attributed to fear rather than to kindness.

The banquet, bull hunt, and bartering having terminated to the mutual satisfaction of the parties, on June 7th the English fleet bade farewell to their friendly foes, and went to sea. The next day they arrived at a small island, which they had been informed was a place of great resort for seals. As the general desired to enjoy the sport of taking some, the fleet came to anchor, and he, with a number of others, went in the pinnace in pursuit of them. The chase like to have had a fatal termination for the whole party, as the pinnace came very near being wrecked. But by divine interposition they finally escaped, and reached their vessel in safety. On the 20th they arrived upon the coast of Florida, and three days after they narrowly escaped wrecking on a point which, in consequence of its dangerous character, was called Cape Fear. The next day

they anchored in a harbor, and in one tide they caught as many fish as would, in London market, have sold for a hundred dollars. On the 26th they came to anchor at Wococon. From here they sent word to Wingina, of Roanoke, of their arrival. On the 6th of July, Mr. John Arundel was sent to the main land, accompanied by Manteo, one of the savages who had been taken to England, and who had now returned with them. He proved to be very useful to the English all the time that they remained there. On the same day, Captains Aubrey and Boniten were sent to Croatan, an Indian town, where they found thirty or more of their men, who had been left there a number of days before. On the 11th of July, the general, accompanied by quite a large party of the English, set out on an exploring expedition, with the tilt boat, the pinnace, and two ship boats laden with a stock of provisions sufficient to last eight days. They directed their course towards the main land, and during their absence they discovered the towns of Pomeiok, Aquascogok, Secotan, and a great lake called Paquique. At Aquascogok a silver cup was stolen from them by an Indian, which so offended the English, that, in revenge for the larceny, they burned down the town and destroyed all their corn. This destruction of the homes and the food of the Indians, for so trifling an offence, many of whom had no hand in it, only served to

exasperate them, and to convert them into more determined and implacable foes. It was seed from which in future the English were to reap bitter fruit.

On the 18th of July they returned from their expedition to the fleet, which was still riding at Wococon, and two days after they set sail for Hatorask, where they arrived on the 27th. On the 29th they received their last visit from the generous and honorable Granganimeo, as, shortly after, he died. He had proved himself to be a sincere friend of the English. On the 25th of August, General Greenville set sail on his return to England, leaving in the new world one hundred and eight persons to found a colony. This was in 1585, and as the Pilgrims did not land in Massachusetts Bay till 1620, this first attempt of the English at colonizing in Virginia occurred thirty-five years before the settlement of Plymouth.

## CHAPTER VII.

**Explorations. — Description of the Country. — An intelligent Captive. — Pearls. — Menatonon. — Two Companies. — Assignation. — A marvellous River. — Pemissapan's Treachery. — Concealment of the Indians. — Critical Situation. — The Governor's Policy. — Firmness of the Company. — Dog Porridge. — Rumors of Gold. — Mining Operations. — Perseverance of the Company. — Lane's interesting Account. — Attack by the Indians. — They retreat to the Woods. — The perilous Return.**

**THE** colony which Sir Richard Greenville left in the country to undertake the laborious and responsible work of its settlement, was placed under the government of Mr. Ralph Lane, who had accompanied them from England for that purpose.

After the departure of Greenville, arrangements were made by the colonists to enter upon various exploring expeditions, in order to ascertain the geography and nature of the country, in respect to its soil and its mineral, vegetable, and animal productions; and, also, to form an acquaintance and establish friendly relations with the natives. Not much, however, was accomplished by these expeditions. To the southward, they proceeded as far as Secotan, an Indian town, which they estimated was about eighty miles distant from Roanoke, "in the present county of Carver, between the Pamlico

and the Neuse." They made the passage with difficulty, through a broad sound full of dangerous flats and shoals, in a boat with four oars, and carrying fifteen men, with their provisions and baggage. To the north, they went as far as to the Chespians—about a hundred and thirty miles. They regarded the expedition as perilous, because the water was shallow, the bay wide, and in case any accident happened, it would have been very difficult to obtain help. Mr. Bancroft fixes the extent of their northern exploration at the small river Elizabeth, which falls into the Chesapeake Bay, just below Norfolk. They penetrated into the interior some distance beyond the junction of the Meherrin and the Nottaway, to Chawanook. In Governor Lane's own account of these explorations, he says, "The territory and soil of the Chespians (being distant fifteen miles from the shore) was for pleasantness of seat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of soil, and for the commodity of the sea, besides multitude of bears, (being an excellent good victual,) with great woods of sassafras and walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever."

He states, after mentioning the unpronounceable names of several Indian towns which they passed on the rivers, that Chawanook is the largest, and capable of sending seven hundred warriors into the

field. The king of this province was named Menatonon, "a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise, for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of his own men, but also of his neighbors round about him, as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yieldeth." \* The governor took him prisoner, and kept him for two days ; and from him he received more valuable information than he had derived from all the other savages together. Among other things, he told him that by going three days' journey up his river Chawanook, he would be within four or five days' journey of another kingdom, bordering upon the sea, but having, as its place of greatest strength, an island, situated in a bay, and surrounded by very deep water. From this bay the king of that country obtains so great a quantity of pearls, that not only are the robes of himself and followers abundantly ornamented with them, but also his beds and houses, so that it is a curiosity to see him. He showed the governor some of these pearls, which he had purchased of the king about two years before ; and though they were black, he paid a dear price for them. Some of these he gave to Governor

\* Lane, in Hakluyt.

Lane, among which were a few very round and beautiful. He informed him that the black pearls were obtained from the shallow, and the large white ones from the deep water of the bay, in which was the island before alluded to. This story of the wonderful quantity of pearl powerfully excited the cupidity of Lane, and he resolved to make this wealthy native monarch a visit. He regarded it as extremely desirable to form an acquaintance with one who possessed in such abundance these valuable jewels. It was his opinion that this king trafficked with white men who dressed as the English did; that for them he saved all his white pearls, and for this reason would sell none but black ones to Indians.

Menatonon offered to furnish him with guides, but at the same time advised him to take a considerable number of men, and a good stock of stores, as the king whom they would visit was jealous of strangers, and very unwilling for any but his own people to fish for pearls. Lane at once resolved, in case any supplies reached him from England by the end of April, to set out on this important expedition. His plan was to send some boats by sea to discover the bay referred to, and explore it, whilst he, with another company of two hundred men, would go up the River of Chawanook, accompanied by the guides which were promised him. It was



his intention, also, to have kept Menatonon's son a prisoner on the journey, in order to secure fidelity on the part of the guide. He also arranged to provide fortified places on the route, protected by a garrison of fifteen or twenty men, which he was to leave within them. After reaching the head of the river, he would then cross over land to the bay, and join the other party, who were to be there waiting for him. In case he found a good harbor there, which should appear to him preferable to the one at Roanoke, he intended to take possession of it, and remove there with his whole colony. This was to be his plan of operations, in case he received accessions from England; but after receiving other intelligence, so greatly was his anxiety increased to commence operations, that he resolved not to delay. His movements were hastened by certain marvellous things which he heard respecting a famous river, called by the Indians Moratoc. It was said that the origin of this river was at a distance of thirty or forty days' travel from Roanoke, and that there the water gushed out of a large rock in such quantity as to make at once a most violent stream. This huge rock was so near to the ocean, that in times of storm, when the wind blew in from the sea, the resistless rolling billows dashed over the intervening land, and mingled with the fresh water of the river, rendering it salt and

brackish for a considerable distance. Lane was anxious to discover this singular river-producing rock. The account of it he knew would furnish an interesting chapter in the report of his expeditions, which, as in duty bound, he was to return to his employer in England.

Menatonon, whom he had held in captivity, he released for a certain ransom price, and then commenced his exploration of the river. The Moratoc, now known as the Roanoke, emptied into the Albemarle Sound, then called by the Indians Weapomeiok. His plan was to take two double wherries, with forty men, and provisions sufficient only to last until they reached the Moratocs, or Mangoaks, tribes of Indians whom they expected to pass on their journey, and ascend the Roanoke, if possible, to its mysterious head. This neglect to lay in more provisions came near proving fatal to the whole party.

For the king, Wingina, who, upon the death of his brother, had changed his name to Pemissapan, although he had frequently importuned the English to visit the interior tribes of Indians, now that his request was about to be complied with, sent word to those tribes that the white men were coming to destroy them. The consequence was, that, as Lane and his company ascended the stream, the Indians, instead of meeting them and trading with them as

they otherwise would have done, fled before them, carrying away their corn, and leaving nothing but empty wigwams for their visitors. The limited stock of provisions which Lane took with him was rapidly diminishing. After having proceeded up the river for three days, without seeing an Indian or finding a grain of corn, he began to be alarmed. Being then a hundred and sixty miles from home, knowing that he had victuals for only two days left, suspecting treason in his own savages, and apprehensive lest he might meet with violent storms, which would impede his return, and perhaps prove fatal to some, if not all, of his company, he concluded to make known to them their true condition, and ask their opinion as to the best course to pursue. Accordingly, in the evening, before appointing the sentinels for the night, he called the whole company together, laid before them their real situation, informed them of his own suspicions that they were betrayed by their own savages, and drawn forth into the country to be starved; and that, as they only had two days' provisions on hand, it would be best for them to return home, and that, in returning, it would be wise to take a different route from that by which they had come, so that they might visit the fishing "weares of Chympanum," where they might obtain some relief. However, after making a full statement, he said he

would submit the whole matter to them for their decision, and would abide by the votes of the majority whether to return, or to spend all of their provisions in surveying that goodly river, with the hope that they would have better fortune in meeting with the natives, and in finding food. But that they might not be hasty in coming to a decision, he advised them to think of the subject over night, and he would call for their opinion in the morning.

The decision of the company was, that whilst a half a pint of corn per man was left, they would not relinquish the examination of the river ; that as there were in the company two mastiff dogs, when all other food gave out, they could convert them into pottage, season it with sassafras, and live upon it two days ; that by that time the current of the river would carry them to the entrance of the sound, over which they might pass in two days more, and be relieved by the fish wears ; which two days, they said, they would rather fast than be drawn back a foot, till they had seen the Indians, either as friends or foes. With this resolution Governor Lane said he was well pleased, and that he merely pretended to be of a different opinion out of " mistrust of that which afterwards did happen."

The tribe which they were particularly desirous of meeting was called the Mangoaks, who were said to traffic up the Roanoke, and who, it was

presumed, could give them valuable information respecting a "marvelous and most strange mineral" which it produced. The existence of a mine somewhere on that river was extensively known among the neighboring tribes. The country in which it was located was called Chaunis Temoatan.

"They say that they take the said metal out of a river that falleth very swift from high rocks and hills. The manner is this: They take a great bowl, by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral. That done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the color of the water, and then suddenly clap down the said bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doth yield in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore. Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same."

This metal the Indians called *wassador*, a generic name, however, which they applied to metals in general. They said it resembled the English copper, except that it was paler and softer. It

was easy for the excited imaginations of the English to convert this soft, pale red, or yellow metal into gold. Their cupidity being aroused, they were the more anxious to have an interview with the Mangoaks, and obtain not only more information, but specimens of the mysterious mineral, and, if possible, be led to the mine. They therefore determined not to return, but to continue to ascend the stream, and persevere in their efforts to obtain an interview with the Mangoaks, and, if successful, to take some of them prisoners, and use them as guides. Manteo, who had made a visit to England, and had picked up something of the English language, accompanied them as their interpreter, so that, in case they fell in with any of the natives, they could have conversation with them.

The deceitful statements of Pemissapan, that their intentions were evil, defeated all their efforts. The Indians shunned them as though they believed the report, that their object was to destroy them.

Governor Lane, in the account of this expedition which he sent to his employer, — Sir Walter Raleigh, — says that he yielded willingly to the decision of his company to persevere.

“ But it fell out very contrary to all expectation and likelihood, for after two days’ travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man, only fires we might perceive

made along the shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day; in the evening whereof, about three of the clock, we heard certain savages call, as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought in token of our welcome to them; but Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us, which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light horsemen ready to put to shore, but there lighted a volley of their arrows amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediately, the other boat lying ready with their shot to scour the place for our hand weapons to land upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steep, the savages forthwith quitted the shore, and betook themselves to flight. We landed, and, having fair and easily followed for a small time after them, who had wooded themselves, we know not where. The sun drawing towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day, if we would pursue them, though we might happen to meet with them, yet we should be assured to meet with none of their victual, which we then had good cause to think of; therefore choosing for the

company a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of guard, and putting out good sentinels, I determined the next morning, before the rising of the sun, to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto; for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves, if that befell them, which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The end was, we came the next day, by night, to the river's mouth, within four or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day, down the current, as much as in four days we had done against the same. We lodged upon an island, where we had nothing in the world to eat but pottage of sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never used before, as I think. The broad sound we had to pass the next day all fresh and fasting. That day, the wind blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibility of passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon Easter eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter day, in the morning, the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound, and by four of the clock, we were at Chipanum, whence all the savages we had left



there were fled ; but their wears did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost ; for some of our company of the light horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at our home, Roanoke."

## CHAPTER VIII.

**New Plots. — The Colony in great Jeopardy. — Indian Funerals. — Customs. — Murders projected. — The Plot revealed. — The Watchword. — Pemissapan slain. — The Colony saved. — A Fleet. — Painful Suspense. — Relief. — Sir Francis Drake. — His Kindness. — Great Storm. — Its Effects. — The Colonists disheartened. — Drake takes them on Board. — Character of Lane. — Arrival of Supplies, but no Colony. — Their Return. — Arrival of Sir Richard Greenville. — His Surprise. — His Return. — He leaves fifteen Men. — He destroys Spanish Towns.**

THE expedition which was related in the last chapter seems to have resulted in no permanent benefit to the English, except in making them acquainted, by painful experience, with the methods adopted by the savages to annoy and destroy their pursuing enemies. It also made them sensibly realize that Pemissapan was a dangerous neighbor, whom sound policy required them closely to watch.

After their return from their exploration of the Roanoke, new events which occurred served to confirm their opinion of the treacherous and dangerous character of this wily chief. Ensenore, the father of Pemissapan, was a true friend of the colonists. He had no sympathy with the antipathy and maliciousness of his son. In the councils which were held to deliberate upon the policy to be adopted towards the white strangers, he always stood up as

their protector, and interposed his influence for their good. His name should be held in grateful remembrance by their descendants.

Still, according to Governor Lane's account, Pemissapan arranged a plan for the overthrow of the colony. After having projected a variety of annoyances, such as the withholding of food from the English, omitting to plant corn, destroying their fishing wears, and thus obliging them to live mainly upon clams, muscles, and other shell fish, he devised an artful plot for their destruction.

It was the custom with the Indians, when any of their principal men deceased, to observe a great festival to their honor. When Ensenore, who was advanced in years, died, which occurred about this time, his son, Pemissapan, resolved to have a festival to his memory, and when large numbers of Indians should have assembled together, to make an attack upon the English and destroy them. Indians of different tribes were to be collected, and were to have their encampments located in different places, and when one portion of them should succeed in executing Governor Lane, bonfires were to be lighted at prominent points as the signal of their success, and then others were to make an attack upon the English colony, and cut them all off in cold blood.

The method which had been adopted for the destruction of the governor was as follows: Twenty

warriors, under the command of two principal braves, were appointed to watch his person. They were to ascertain in what house he lodged, and at midnight, when they had reason to believe that he was fast locked in unconscious sleep, they were to station themselves around his door; some of them were then to set the house on fire by kindling the dry reeds with which it was covered, and when he should awake and attempt to escape from the burning building, they were to fall upon him with their weapons and put him to death. The same plan was arranged for the destruction of other prominent Englishmen. The town and the fort were then to be burned and the colonists destroyed wherever they could be found.

Such, in brief, is Governor Lane's account of the matter, which he says was revealed to him by an Indian named Skyco, and was confirmed by one of Pemissapan's own men.

The plot being disclosed, Lane began to counter-plot, and after a while succeeded in securing an interview with Pemissapan and eight of his principal men. Regarding this a favorable opportunity for inflicting upon the traitorous Indian deserved death, he gave to his own guard the watchword, which had been previously communicated to them, which was, "Christ our victory," when instantly they sprang upon the Indians and slew them. Pemissapan was shot through by the colonel with a pistol,

and fell as if dead ; but during the continuance of the *mêlée*, he seized a favorable opportunity, suddenly sprang to his feet, and started off with the speed of the deer, his bullet wound operating like a spur to a horse ; “insomuch,” says Lane, “as he overran all the company, being, by the way, shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell.\* In the end, an Irishman serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertook him ; and following him in the woods overtook him ; and I in some doubt lest we had lost both the king and my man by our own negligence to have been intercepted by the savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemissapan’s head in his hand.” This transpired on the 1st of June, 1586. Thus the colony was saved from the dangers which encompassed it.

On the 8th of the same month, intelligence reached Governor Lane that a great fleet of three and twenty ~~sail~~ were upon the coast ; but whether they were friends or foes was unknown. This information was communicated by Captain Stafford, who was then lying at my Lord Admiral’s Island. This was important news. If this large fleet were enemies, and should discover the colony, it would be an easy thing for them to conquer and make prisoners of war of all the English ; but if they were

\* A kind of carabine, or large horseman’s pistol.

friends, they could not have come at a better time. Intense solicitude was felt to discover their flag. As they gradually neared the coast, coming on like a flock of white-winged sea birds, the eyes of the English were strained to make out their national character. They earnestly hoped that they might prove to be reënforcements, and fresh stores, which they had been expecting from home; yet in consequence of their large number, they feared that that could not be the case, unless a portion of them were a naval convoy, accompanying the others for their protection. Their suspense, however, was of short duration. The most joyous excitement was created in the little colony when it was ascertained that this was an English fleet, under the command of the renowned Sir Francis Drake. He had visited them in obedience to the command of her majesty, Queen Elizabeth of England, to inquire after their welfare, and to supply their wants. Despondency now gave place to hope. As their necessities were to be met in men, boats, and provisions, they expected to be able to maintain their position until the anticipated reënforcements from Sir Walter Raleigh arrived.

Drake treated the colony with great courtesy and kindness. At their request he furnished them with one bark, called the Francis, of seventy tons, two pinnaces, and four small boats, with provisions sufficient to last a hundred men four months, so that in

case nothing was heard from Sir Walter Raleigh, and it became necessary, as a matter of self-preservation, for them to return to England, they might have the means of so doing; or if they remained in the new world, that they might be able to make explorations in safety along the coast. As a number of the colonists were weak, sickly, and otherwise inefficient, Drake also supplied Governor Lane with a number of able-bodied men and some experienced and discreet officers, two of whom were Abraham Kendall and Griffith Herne. The provisions and the new officers, with a number of others from the colony, were on board the Francis, when, on the day following the new arrangement, a violent storm arose, which compelled the Francis, with all on board, to escape to sea. The storm continued four days — from the 13th to the 16th of June. As the road where the fleet was anchored was much exposed, a number of the other vessels were obliged to put to sea also. Indeed, so severe was the weather, and so powerful the rolling waves, “that they had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them.”

The Francis did not return. She was not heard of again till Drake arrived in England, where he met her. He now offered to supply the colonists with another vessel. But after consultation among themselves, they declined accepting it. So great had

been their discomforts, so unfriendly were the Indians, that they were effectually weaned from the love of colonial life in America. And now that their fresh supply of provisions and men had been carried away in consequence of the weather, they construed it into the frown of divine Providence upon their attempt at colonization; they therefore requested the admiral to receive them on board his vessels and take them home. Drake readily consented to comply with their wishes. But in getting them on board his vessels, so boisterous was the weather, and so often did the pinnaces get aground, that almost all their luggage, with all their cards, books, and writings, was cast overboard by the sailors. After the colonists were divided among the different vessels of the fleet, "the general, in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors, set sail the 19th of June, 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth, England, the 27th of July the same year."

Thus ingloriously terminated Governor Ralph Lane's colony on the Island of Roanoke. Lane seems to have been a man of too little nerve, courage, and persevering determination, under difficulties, to be the founder of a colony. He was not a man to infuse vigor into the drooping spirits of others, and to lead a forlorn hope. In the present instance he became discouraged too soon. We think, too, that he magnified his dangers arising from the



Indians. With more firmness on his part, he might have kept the colony together until the promised reënforcements of Sir Walter Raleigh arrived. For at the time Admiral Drake visited them, they had crops in the ground (of which the corn was within a fortnight of gathering) sufficient to have lasted them two years. As Pemissapan was then slain, as some of the neighboring tribes were friendly to the English, and as all the Indians were in great dread of fire-arms, we think that Lane might, with proper policy, in his treatment of the Indians, have so managed as to have secured a permanent settlement. But he was not the man for the crisis. He precipitately fled from the place; and thus fell the first attempt of the English to settle a colony upon the shores of the new world!

It is difficult, even at this late day, to suppress a feeling of regret at his hasty departure, when we know that Sir Walter was exerting himself nobly at home to fulfil his promise of further assistance, and that the assistance was actually sent, though at a later period than was expected.

The same year, and only a short time after Drake had taken the colonists away, a ship of a hundred tons, abundantly freighted with all kinds of supplies for the young colony, arrived upon the coast. It had been sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh according to his promise. After examining "this paradise of

the world for some time, and being unable to find the colony whom they had come to relieve, they were obliged to return, taking all their supplies with them."

About a fortnight after his departure, Sir Richard Greenville, who had brought the colonists to this new world, also arrived, with three vessels well freighted. He visited Roanoke, and was surprised to see the place deserted. Not an Englishman could be found. After making several excursions into the country in different directions, for the double purpose of learning, if he could, the fate of the colony, and of making further discoveries of the geography and productions of the land, he concluded to return. But being unwilling to lose possession of the country, he, after grave deliberation with his officers, decided to leave fifteen men to hold the place.

After selecting the men, and depositing with them provisions, he bade them farewell, and departed, leaving them the sole guardians of a continent.

On his return he visited the Islands of Azores, landed, and destroyed the towns, taking many Spaniards prisoners.

## CHAPTER IX.

Indian Clothing. — Their Weapons. — Their Houses. — Mode of Warfare. — Their religious Opinions. — Stories about Resurrection from the Dead. — Astonishment at certain English Articles. — Their Opinions of the English. — Their religious Instruction. — Their singular Treatment of the Bible. — Requests for Prayers. — Strange Sickness. — How it was accounted for. — English thought to be Gods. — Invisible Bullets. — Indian Uses of Tobacco. — Snuff for Fish. — Raleigh's Wager with the Queen. — A Man on Fire. — Permanence of Indian Customs.

AMONGST the colonists who went out with Governor Ralph Lane was Mr. Thomas Hariot, a scientific gentleman, who was appointed to investigate the natural productions of the country, the commodities and habits of the natives, and write the history of the expedition. From his account, which is published in Hakluyt's Collection, — a rare book, — we gather the following facts concerning the natives of that region.

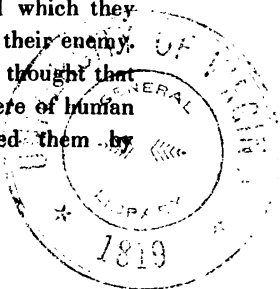
Their clothing consisted of mantles and aprons of deer skins. The mantles were thrown loosely over their shoulders, and the aprons worn in front.

They had no edge tools or weapons of iron or steel. They used bows made of witch-hazel, arrows of reeds, and flat-edged clubs about a yard long. To protect themselves from the weapons of

their enemies, they had shields made of bark, and others composed of sticks, woven together like basket work. Their huts were made by placing a number of flexible poles in the ground, and then bending them till their tops met. They were there fastened together, and then covered with bark of trees, or mats; or else thatched with grass and rushes down to the ground. Some of them were long, like an arbor; others perfectly round. A square opening was left in one side for a door, and a hole in the top for the double purpose of chimney and window. In size they were from twelve to twenty-four yards in length, and half as wide. Their towns, which were generally near the sea, were small, embracing from ten to thirty of these cabins. Some of them were protected by a stockade, composed of stakes set thickly together, and encompassing the whole village, and others by a slight defence, made of barks fastened to posts.

Their wars were conducted by sudden surprises in the early dawn of the morning, or at the dead hour of night, and by deceitful ambushes. Or if they had a set battle, it was usually in a part of the country where trees abounded, behind which they hid for protection, whilst they shot at their enemy.

In respect to religious opinions, they thought that there were many gods, and that they were of human shape; and, therefore, they represented them by



images of men, which they called *kewasonook*, the plural of *kewas*. These they placed in certain rude temples, where the people worshipped, prayed, sang, and made offerings to them.

They believed also in the immortality of the soul, and that after this life they would be rewarded according to their characters here. "For the confirmation of this opinion," says Hariot, "they told me two stories of two men that had been lately dead and revived again. The one happened but few years before our coming into the country, of a wicked man, which, having been dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave being seen to move, was taken up again, who made declaration where his soul had been ; that is to say, very near entering into popogusso, (their word for *hell*.) Had not one of the gods saved him, and gave him leave to return again and teach his friends what they should do to avoid that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the same year we were there, but in a town that was sixty miles from us ; and it was told me for strange news, that one being dead, buried, and taken up again, as the first, showed that, although his body had lien dead in the grave, yet his soul was alive, and had travelled far on a long, broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits than ever he had seen before,

or was able to express, and at length came to most brave and fair houses, near which he met his father, that had been dead before, who gave him great charge to go back again, and show his friends what good they were to do to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done, he should after come again."

● We have copied these stories, not because we believe them, but as illustrations of the opinions of the natives, and of the kind of evidence by which their minds are convinced.

When the English made their excursions into the country, and also when the natives visited them, they showed them various kinds of implements, not merely to excite their wonder, but also to impress them with their great knowledge and skill, and in this manner to secure their respect, reverence, and confidence.

Mr. Hariot says, "Most things they saw with us, as mathematical instruments, sea compasses, the virtue of the loadstone in drawing iron, a perspective glass, whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wild fireworks, guns, hooks, writing and reading, spring clocks that seem to go of themselves, and many other things that we had, were so strange unto them, and so far exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reasons and means how they should be made and done that

they thought they were rather the works of gods than of men, or at the least wise, they had been given and taught as of the gods, which made many of them to have such opinion of us, as that if they knew not the truth of God and religion already, it was rather to be had from us whom God so specially loved, than from a people that were so simple as they found themselves to be in comparison of us. Whereupon greater credit was given unto that we spake of concerning such matters."

In every town which Hariot visited, he says he made known, as well as he was able; the contents of the Bible, telling the Indians that therein were made known the character of the only true God, his wonderful works, and especially the life and miracles of Jesus Christ, and the way of salvation through him. And although he was careful to tell them that there was no virtue in the material of which the book was made, but only in the great truths which it contained, yet they regarded the book with the greatest reverence. Some would gently touch it with their fingers; others devoutly embraced it in their arms; others again reverently kissed it, held it to their heads and breasts, and rubbed it over their whole body, as if to indicate their strong desire to understand more fully its contents, or perhaps, superstitiously regarding it as a charm, they imagined that in this way they might, by its mysterious power, ward off danger.

The chief Wingina and many of his men were gratified with the privilege of being present when the English were engaged in their devotions, and at other times they would request that prayers and hymns might be offered.

On one occasion, when this chief was dangerously ill, and fearing it might be a judgment for offending the English, and consequently their God, he sent for some of them to pray that it would please God either to spare his life, or, after death, receive him into his own blessed presence, to dwell there forever. It was the same with others.

It reminds us of an interesting incident which occurred some years after in the history of Plymouth. When the Indian interpreter Squanto was dying, he called for Governor Bradford, and requested him to pray that he might "go to the Englishmen's God in heaven."

On another occasion, a great drought prevailed at Roanoke, and when the corn began to wither, fearing it was produced by the Englishmen's God, in consequence of some sin committed by the Indians, they came to the white strangers, and requested them to pray to the God of England, that he would preserve their corn, promising that when it was ripe the English should be partakers of it.

Any unusual sickness, losses, or catastrophes, they attributed to their displeasing the English,



which brought down, as they supposed, the anger of their God.

“One other rare and strange accident,” says Hariot, “leaving others, will I mention before I end, which moved the whole country, that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderful admiration.

“There was no town where we had any subtle device practised against us, we leaving it unpunished or not revenged, (because we sought by all means possible to win them by gentleness,) but that within a few days after our departure from every such town, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some towns about twenty, in some forty, and in one six score, which in truth was very many in respect to their numbers. This happened in no place, that we could learn, but where we had been, where they used some practice against us, and after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it: the like, by the report of the oldest men in the country, never happened before, time out of mind—a thing especially observed by us, as also by the natural inhabitants themselves; insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the weroance, or chief, Wingina, had observed such effects, in four or five towns, to follow their wicked practices, they

were persuaded that it was the work of our God, through our means, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come near them."

For this reason the friendly Indians, when they knew that others had offended the English, and it had not been retaliated upon them, would request the colonists to pray that such offenders might be destroyed, as this would be greatly to the credit of the English and of those natives who were known to be friendly to them.

To such requests the English paid no regard, but, on the contrary, taught the Indians that they ought to pray for the welfare of their enemies; yet when the calamities for which they desired the English to pray actually came, they attributed them to their power with God, and came to them and rendered them thanks, that though they had declined to promise revenge in words, yet they had inflicted it in deeds.

"This marvelous accident in all the country wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to think us gods or men, and the rather that because all the space of their sickness there was no man of ours known to die, or that was specially sick. They noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of them.

“Some, therefore, were of opinion that we were not born of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation, many years past, then risen again to immortality.

“Some would likewise seem to prophesy that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill them and take their places, as some thought the purpose was by that which was already done. Those that were immediately to come after us they imagined to be in the air, yet invisible and without bodies; and that they, by our entreaty, and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

“To confirm this opinion, their physicians (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple believe, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of their sick bodies were the strings wherewithal the invisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that we shot them ourselves out of our pieces, from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any towne that had offended us as we listed, how far distant from us soever it were.”

Hariot also gives an amusing account of the singular uses of a weed well known at the present day by the name of *tobacco*, but which by the

Indians was called *uppowoc*, the leaves of which, being dried and pulverized, the Indians were accustomed to put into a clumsy pipe made of clay, and suck the smoke "into their stomach and head." So highly did they esteem this *uppowoc*, that they imagined it to be peculiarly acceptable to their gods. Hence, when they made their sacred fires, they cast some of it in as a sacrifice. If a storm overtook them upon the waters, to pacify their offended deities, they threw snuff in the air and upon the waves. When they set a new wear or net for taking fish, they sprinkled some on the wear, and some in the atmosphere, as if they would both conciliate the gods, and tempt the fish with a pinch of snuff; and when they escaped from danger, they threw some in the air as a thank offering; "but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithal and chattering strange words and noises."

"We ourselves, during the time we were there, used to suck it after their manner, as also since our return." This was the origin of the use of tobacco among the English. Quantities of it, were at that time sent to England; and through the influence of Governor Lane, Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few others, it was soon introduced into general use.

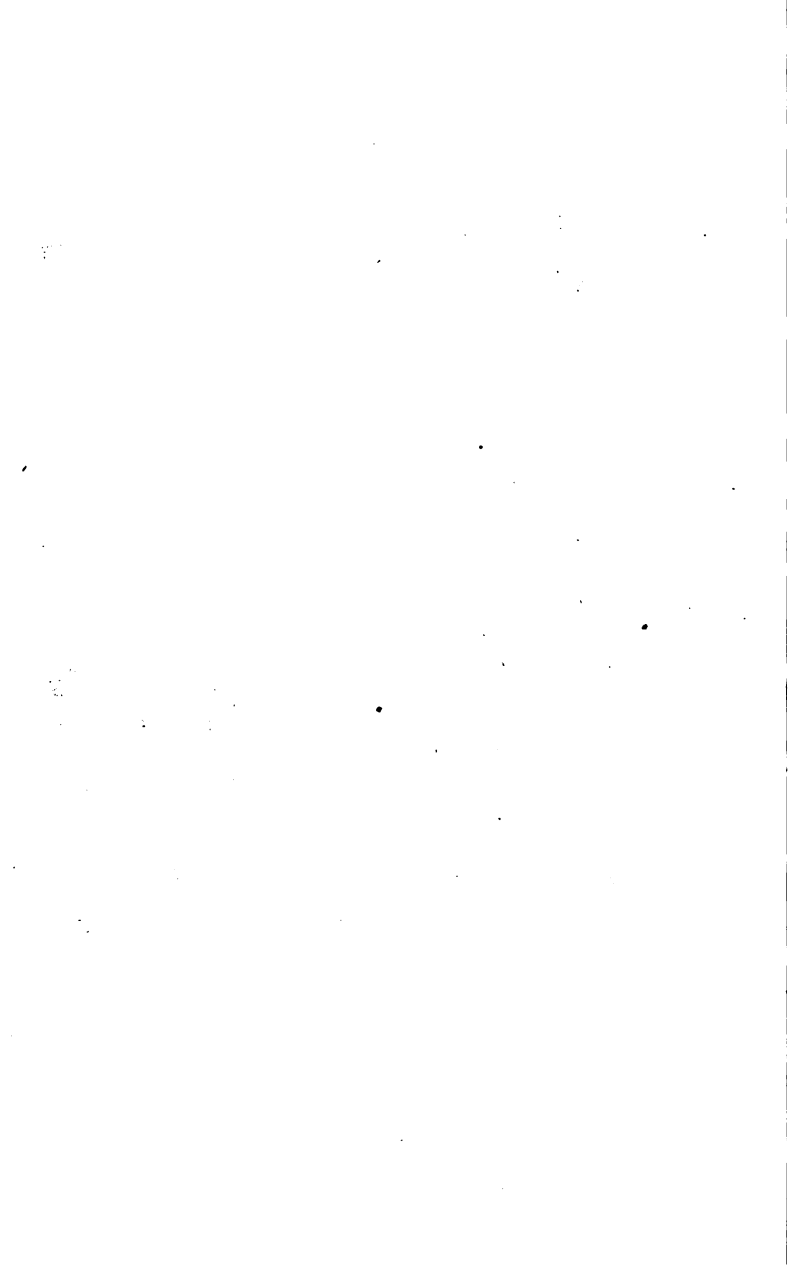
Smoking of this nauseous weed became so fashionable at court, that many distinguished ladies

and noblemen were seen with a pipe in their mouths. Sometimes it led to amusing incidents, two of which we will relate.

On one occasion, when tobacco was the subject of conversation, Sir Walter laid a wager with the queen, that he could ascertain exactly the weight of the smoke which was puffed away in a pipe of tobacco. Taking a quantity of tobacco, he first accurately weighed it, then put it into the bowl of the pipe, and began to puff. As the smoke circled in graceful wreaths around his head, and diffused itself through the atmosphere, it seemed to the spectators a difficult, if not an impossible task for him to catch the volatile vapor and imprison it so as to get its weight. But Sir Walter was a philosopher as well as courtier, and knew what he had undertaken, and how to accomplish it. He kept on calmly smoking until no more clouds could be produced, and then, carefully weighing the ashes, he subtracted their weight from the weight of the tobacco which he first put in his pipe, and the remainder, he told the queen, was the exact quantity which had gone off in smoke. Her majesty readily assented to the statement, and acknowledged that she had lost. When she paid the wager, she pleasantly said that she had "heard of many laborers



**Sir Walter Raleigh bets with the Queen. Page 108.**



in the fire, that turned their gold to smoke, but Sir Walter was the first who had turned smoke into gold."

Another incident more humorous, but not quite so pleasant to the subject, occurred about the same time. A country servant of Sir Walter, who had not been initiated into the use of this fashionable article, and who, it seems, was not acquainted with his master's habit, entered Raleigh's study with a tankard of ale and nutmeg. Seeing Raleigh with a pipe in his mouth, and the smoke pouring out, intently engaged over his books, he became so frightened that he threw the ale into his face to extinguish the fire, and ran rapidly down stairs, crying out in his loudest tones, "Master is on fire! Master is on fire, and before you can get to him, he will be burned to ashes!"

Hariot has also given an account of the various kinds of birds, beasts, fishes, and plants which the country at that early day was found to produce; but these it is not necessary here to name.

Many of the customs, domestic, warlike, and religious, and also the amusements which prevailed among the aborigines at the time of the first settlement of the country, are found still to exist among the remnant of their descendants, who, by the gradual encroachments of the whites, have been driven to the far west. Opinions and practices amongst them, if left to the natural course of things, are found to alter very slowly.



## CHAPTER X.

A new Colony. — An obstinate Pilot. — Search for the Fifteen. — Condition of Roanoke. — Affecting Scene. — Repairs begun. — The Pilot's Designs defeated. — Death of Mr. George Howe by the Indians. — A welcome Reception. — A Badge of Friendship desired. — A formal Conference. — Fate of the Fifteen. — Attack of the Indians. — The English defeated. — False Promises. — A Midnight Excursion. — Indians surprised. — A fatal Mistake. — How it occurred. — Manteo blames the Indians. — Manteo christened. — First English Child born. — Virginia Dare.

ALTHOUGH the efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh to establish settlements in the new world had been signally unsuccessful, and had occasioned him the loss of many thousands of pounds, yet such were the elasticity of his nature and the perseverance of his disposition, that he resolved to make another attempt.

The failure of the previous expeditions had brought the whole subject of American colonial enterprise into disrepute. Many false and injurious stories were in circulation concerning the new countries, which greatly tended to dampen the spirit of emigration. To meet these malicious fabrications, and to present a statement of the facts in the case, Mr. Hariot wrote the account from which we have given quotations in the preceding pages.

In consequence of the untrue reports in circulation,

Sir Walter must have found no little difficulty in collecting another company to seek their fortune in the midst of the uncertainties and dangers of colonial adventure on the American coast. However, by addressing himself energetically to the task, he succeeded in raising a company of one hundred and fifty men, over whom he appointed Mr. John White governor, with twelve assistants. These he got incorporated by the name of "Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia."

On the 8th day of May, 1587, this new colony set sail from Plymouth, in England, for the new world. They pursued the old route by way of the West Indies, and arrived on the American coast at Cape Hatteras the 22d of July. Raleigh had given them orders to settle upon Chesapeake Bay. But the pilot, one Simon Ferdinando, being unaccommodating and obstinate, refused to grant the necessary assistance in finding the place; and he is suspected of an intention to ruin the enterprise, if it had been in his power. But his nefarious designs were thwarted through the vigilance of Captain Stafford.

Upon their arrival at Cape Hatteras, Governor White, with forty of his best men, went ashore for the purpose of finding the fifteen men who had been left there by Sir Richard Greenville to keep possession of the country.

As they passed over the island towards the spot where Roanoke was situated, admiring the beauties of nature, and cursorily examining various plants, trees, and other natural objects on their route, they kept a careful lookout in every direction for either Englishmen or Indians, in hopes of learning the condition and adventures of the little band who had been left the sole guardians of a continent. Silence reigned supreme, except when broken by the songs of birds, or the rolling of the surf upon the shore. This continued stillness, and the absence of human beings, awakened intense solicitude, for it was upon this island where the little colony of fifteen had been left. Passing along with their steps quickened by their anxiety, they finally reached the northern end of the island, where the previous governor, Ralph Lane, had erected a fort, and a number of dwelling houses. Here they had expected to find the little band. But the appearance of the place at once blasted all their hopes, and convinced them that some fearful tragedy had been enacted. The fort was destroyed; the houses were in a dilapidated condition; the lower parts of them, the ground floors, and also the site of the fort, were overgrown with melons, intermingled with weeds, amongst which wild deer were feeding. To cap the climax of their fears, the bones of the dead were found there, furnishing evidence, too conclusive, that some fearful drama

had there transpired. "So we returned to our company without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteen men living."

Orders were immediately given by Governor White to repair the houses which were left, and to build more new ones. The sound of the saw and the hammer was now heard, and life and activity were again in the ascendant upon Roanoke.

On the 25th of July, the Flyboat, containing a portion of the planters who had been purposely left behind by Ferdinando, when he sailed secretly from the Bay of Portugal, arrived, to the great joy of the others. As the captain of that boat, Edward Spicer, had never been to Virginia, it was Ferdinando's expectation that he would be unable to find Roanoke, and would perish in the attempt, or be slain by savages. His wickedness, however, was defeated.

Three days after the arrival of Spicer, Mr. George Howe, one of the twelve assistants, went out to catch crabs. He had no other weapon than a small forked stick, which he used in taking his shell fish. Having stripped himself nearly naked, and waded in the water two miles from his company, he was suddenly attacked by an invisible foe. A band of Indians, who had come to the island either as spies to discover the number of the new colony, or for the purpose of hunting the deer which here abounded, saw him wading in an unguarded manner along the shore.

Concealing themselves, Indian-like, among the high grass, they aimed their arrows at him and fired. He fell, pierced with sixteen wounds. They then ran to him, and beat his head in pieces, after which they took to their canoes, and fled to the main land.

On the 30th of July, Captain Stafford, with twenty men, passed by water to the Island of Croatan. They took with them the Indian Manteo, who, as we have stated, had been to England, and had acquired something of the English language. It appears as if he had crossed the Atlantic with Governor White's company, and if so, he had made two voyages to England.

As on the Island of Croatan the mother and relatives of Manteo resided, Governor White hoped that there he might gather some tidings of the lost colony, besides learning the disposition of the Indians towards their white immigrants.

At their first landing upon Croatan the Indians assumed a warlike attitude towards them. But when the English put on a bold front, and marched with their "shot towards them," they fled. But when Manteo raised his voice and called after them, a decided effect was produced. They paused; threw away their weapons, to show that they renounced their belligerent designs; came fearlessly to the English, and embraced them in a cordial manner. They expressed the hope that their visitors would not

destroy their corn, as they had but a small quantity left. The governor assured them that his object was not to injure them, but to renew the friendship which had previously existed between them and the English, and to live with them as brethren.

Being greatly pleased with this intelligence, they invited their visitors to their town, where they feasted them, according to the rules of Indian courtesy, in a hospitable manner.

They earnestly desired the English to give them some article as a badge of friendship, so that when at any time they might meet the colonists, by showing this badge, they might convince them that they were friends, and thus escape being attacked. For want of some such arrangement, Governor Lane's men had, at different times, attacked them, under the impression that they were enemies. There was one among them then who had, in that manner, been wounded by mistake, and had not yet recovered.

The next day a formal conference was held, at which the English were informed that Mr. Howe was slain by the remnant of Wingina's men, with whom Wanchese (who, in company with Manteo, had been to England) resided. They also learned some of the particulars respecting the fate of the fifteen men,—that they had been suddenly attacked by thirty natives from Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk. They secreted themselves behind

the trees near the houses where the men carelessly lived, “and having perceived that of those fifteen they could see but eleven only, two of those savages appeared to the eleven Englishmen, calling to them, by friendly signs, that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speak with those two savages, who seemed also to be unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them; but whilst one of those savages traitorously embraced one of our men, the other, with his sword of wood, which he had secretly under his mantel, struck him on the head and slew him, and presently the other eight and twenty savages showed themselves; the other Englishman, perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the savages pursued with their bows and arrows so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victual and weapons were; but the savages forthwith set the same on fire, by means whereof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and, without order, to run forth among the savages, with whom they skirmished above an hour. In this skirmish another of our men was shot into the mouth with an arrow, where he died; and also one of the savages was shot into the side by one of our men with a wildfire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the savages, by means of the

thick trees, behind which the savages, through their nimbleness, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrows, that our men, being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled to Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their four fellows coming from a creek thereby, where they had been to fetch oysters. These four they received into their boat, leaving Roanoke, and landed on a little island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbor of Hatorask, where they remained a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not."

This was the last they ever learned of that unfortunate band. Whether they perished at sea in their attempt to escape, or were slain by hostile savages of other tribes, was never known. They had disappeared without leaving any record behind them.

Governor White made an attempt to obtain an interview with the chiefs of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok. The chief of Croatan had agreed to carry them an invitation to meet the English, and to return with their answer within seven days. He was particularly anxious to secure this conference, because he had been informed by the people of Croatan that the remnant of Wingina's men, who had killed Mr. Howe and had driven off the previous colony, were at one of these towns. But when the



seven days had expired, and no answer was received from them, the governor determined to visit them at their own encampments, and revenge the deaths of those whom they had murdered.

Accordingly, on the 8th of August, at midnight, he left Roanoke, accompanied by Captain Stafford, the interpreter Manteo, and twenty-three others. After crossing the water and landing, the men proceeded as noiselessly as possible, and reached the village of their enemies in the early dawn. Seeing a fire, and a number of the savages sitting around it, they at once commenced the attack. The poor Indians, struck with amazement, sprang to their feet, and plunged into a thicket of reeds; the English followed them, and fired, shooting one of them through the body with a bullet. All was now confusion. It was so dark that the women could not be discerned from the men. But before the fight had proceeded far, the important discovery was made that these were a company of friendly Indians, and ought not to have been attacked at all.

The enemies of the whites, whom the English had expected to find here, fled immediately after they had killed Mr. Howe, and left all their corn, pumpkins, and tobacco in the fields unprotected, where it would soon have been destroyed by the birds and wild deer; and these Indians had come to appropriate it to themselves. But they came near paying for it a heavy price.

One of the squaws, the wife of a chief, had a narrow escape. She was pursued by the English under the impression that she was a man; but before the fatal blow was given, they discovered that she had a child suspended at her back, by which their erroneous impression was corrected and her life spared. One of the others, an Indian, who was acquainted with Captain Stafford, ran to him during the fight, crying out, "Stafford, Stafford!" by which he indicated his acquaintance with the captain, and saved his own life.

Manteo was greatly grieved at the mistake which had occurred, by which these friendly Indians were taken for enemies; but he attributed it to their own unfaithfulness, telling them that if their chiefs had kept their promise, and visited the English on the day which they had designated, this catastrophe would have been prevented.

Being disappointed in not finding those whom they sought, the English gathered all the corn, peas, pumpions, and tobacco that were ripe, and taking with them the savages they found there, amongst whom was the wife of Menatoan, with her child, they returned to Roanoke.

On the 13th of August, according to directions received from Sir Walter Raleigh previous to leaving England, the Indian interpreter, Manteo, was christened, and at the same time "invested with the

rank of feudal baron as Lord of Roanoke. It was the first peerage erected by the English in America."

On the 18th of the same month, Mrs. Elenor Dare, the daughter of the governor, and wife of Mr. Ananias Dare, gave birth to a daughter. This was the first English child born in what is now the United States. She was called, from the place of her birth, Virginia Dare.

As the time approached for the vessels to leave for England, the colonists became anxious for some one of the assistants to return also, in order to obtain more supplies. As none of them was willing to go on this errand but one, who was regarded by them all as a very unsuitable person, the colonists unanimously requested the governor to go in their behalf. He at first declined. He was unwilling to leave them amid dangers and trials, and be subjected at home to the suspicion that he never intended to reside himself in the new world, but merely to guide the colony there, and then abandon them to their fate. But after earnest persuasion, and being abundantly protected by written documents stating all the facts in the case, he left Roanoke on the 27th of August, and returned to England.

## CHAPTER XI.

**Spanish Armada.** — All England aroused. — Noble Speech of the Queen. — Splendid Sight. — English Stratagem. — Signal Defeat. — The Armada destroyed. — White's Perseverance. — Success. — Disappointment. — Great Smoke, but no People. — Fatal Accident. — A musical Call. — No Response. — Significant Letters, CROATAN. — Goods dug up. — Water wanted. — Severe Weather. — Victuals scarce. — Strange Decision. — The Colonists abandoned to their Fate. — A subsequent Tradition concerning them. — Its Uncertainty. — Present State of Roanoke.

THE return of Governor White to England, in behalf of the colony, occurred at an extremely unpropitious period. The whole English nation were excited by an expected invasion from Spain, and all classes were engaged in making preparations to repel from their shores the powerful, yet misnamed Invincible Spanish Armada. This consisted of a fleet of about one hundred and fifty vessels, some of which were of very large size, carrying two thousand six hundred and fifty guns, and having on board about twenty thousand soldiers, eight thousand sailors, and two thousand volunteers, from the most distinguished families of Spain.

In appearance it seemed as if this immense fleet were sufficient to annihilate the English navy, which, in comparison with it, was very small, make a successful landing upon the shores of England, and,

perhaps, get possession of London, if not of the queen.

The English were fully aware of their danger, and were bringing into requisition all "the sinews of war" to repel it. Private merchants furnished vessels to the government for the general cause. The nobility were ready to grant the loans of money which their queen demanded. Men were every where enlisting in the army and navy, and all were ready to give the uninvited Spaniards a warm reception.

Queen Elizabeth, sensible that her throne and the permanency of the Protestant reformation were in danger, and fully aware of the influence which her personal presence would have upon her army, appeared on horseback in the camp, and, gracefully riding along the lines of her brave soldiers, she addressed them, and encouraged them to fidelity to their country and their God, declaring "that she would rather perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people. I know," she continued, intrepidly, "that I have but the weak and feeble arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too."

By this spirited conduct, she not only excited the admiration of the army, but aroused their enthusiasm to the highest degree. Every man resolved to die rather than desert his post.

When the Armada was first discovered approaching the English coast, it was in the form of a crescent, the two extremities being about seven miles apart, and presented a magnificent appearance. As it sailed up the British Channel, the English vessels attacked it in the rear, and gave it great annoyance. When it anchored off Calais, the English admiral, Lord Howard, resorted to a stratagem. He took eight of his small class vessels, filled them with combustibles, such as pitch, sulphur, &c., set them on fire, and let them drive before the wind upon the different divisions of the enemy. When the Spaniards saw these flaming vessels coming down upon them, they were filled with consternation. The darkness of the night, the lurid glare of the heavens, the bright reflections of the water, and the proximity of their vigilant and cunning enemy, defending their liberties and their lives, all combined, rendered the scene fearfully terrific. The pride of victory and the joys of conquest, by the hope of which they had been stimulated to engage in this hazardous undertaking, were soon effectually destroyed. A panic seized the whole fleet, and rendered each crew anxious only for their own safety. Some of the vessels weighed their anchors, and escaped with order from their perilous position; others hastily cut their cables, and were driven before the wind. In the darkness and confusion,

some of them came violently together in dreadful collision, by which they were so greatly damaged as to be unseaworthy, and were abandoned.

When the glare of the burning vessels gave place to the dawning of the morning, the English admiral had the satisfaction of discovering that his midnight stratagem had been eminently successful. The vessels of the Armada were in great confusion, and were widely separated from each other. No time was lost, on the part of the English, in giving chase to the scattered Spaniards. They attacked them simultaneously, and with great fury, at a number of different points. The Spaniards fought bravely, but without success. Some of their vessels were sunk, others were driven ashore and were fast aground, and others were captured. The Invincible Armada was defeated!

The Spanish admiral now attempted to return home through the English Channel, with the remnant of his fleet; but as the winds were contrary, and the enemy troublesome, he found this impracticable. He was therefore compelled to go in the other direction, and make the circuit of the island. In passing by the Orkneys, a violent tempest arose, by which many of the ships were rendered unmanageable, and were driven upon the Western Islands of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not one half of the

vessels, and a still smaller proportion of the men, ever returned to Spain.

All England was filled with joy at this signal victory, by which they obtained a glorious deliverance from impending danger. In commemoration of it, Queen Elizabeth ordered medals to be struck with this motto, *Afflavit Deus, et dissipantur* — God blew upon them, and they were dispersed.

We have given an account of this great naval conflict, not because it occurred at this time, and was such an important event in itself considered, but because of its disastrous influence upon the little colony at Roanoke.

Governor White, at the earnest and unanimous request of the colonists, had returned to England to obtain assistance, which they knew would be greatly needed. Upon his arrival, he found those from whom he had hoped to obtain the necessary aid sharing in the general excitement arising from the expected invasion. Their thoughts, purposes, and efforts were concentrated upon measures of defence. It was difficult to induce them to consider any other subject.

A council of war had been appointed by the queen to put the land forces into the best posture of defence. This was an important and responsible undertaking, and required frequent and long consultations. On this council were placed three of



those who had been the most deeply interested in the settlement of Virginia — Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Greenville, and Ralph Lane, Esq., the late governor of Virginia.

So deeply were they engaged in planning measures for the defeat of the approaching Armada, and preserving the liberties of the nation, that they could not attend to the claims of a little band of settlers three thousand miles off.

Governor White, however, instead of being disheartened, persevered in his efforts for the accomplishment of his mission. He knew the condition in which he had left the colony at Roanoke — their limited supply of provisions; the weakness of their means of defence; the barbarous nature of the Indians who surrounded them, and the anxiety with which they would wait for his return. He therefore urged the matter upon the attention of Sir Walter Raleigh with such importunity, that when the council of war had fixed upon their plan of operations for the reception of the Spaniards, Sir Walter spent his leisure in providing the requisite supplies for Virginia.

He fitted out a small fleet, and placed it under the command of Sir Richard Greenville. Here a new difficulty arose.

So great was the alarm occasioned by the expected invasion of the Armada, that an order

was issued from the British government, that all ships of force, then in any readiness, should stay in their harbors for the defence of their own country ; and Sir Richard Greenville was personally commanded **not** to depart from Cornwall, where Sir Walter was then enlisting and training forces for the war, as the lieutenant of that county.

Notwithstanding this new source of embarrassment, Governor White persevered with so much assiduity as to succeed in obtaining two small barks, with which he left Biddeford on the 22d of April, 1588. These, however, proved of no service ; for their officers, being more anxious to make profitable voyages than to relieve the suffering colony, ran in chase of Spanish prizes, till one of them fell in with two ships of the enemy, with whom it had a bloody engagement, and by whom it was conquered and rifled. In less than a month from the time the vessel left, it returned, in a tattered and maimed condition, to relate the story of its defeat. In about three weeks afterwards, the other returned also, perhaps from a similar cause, and without ever having reached Virginia. This sealed the fate of the neglected colony. Sir Walter Raleigh was deeply afflicted and displeased at this result ; but it had occurred, and now there was no remedy.

As Sir Walter had already spent a hundred and

twenty thousand dollars upon his American colonies, as he had also become largely interested in the planting and settling of certain estates in Ireland which had been granted to him by the government, and as he was one of the foremost of the military officers in carrying on the war against Spain, he came to the conclusion to extend to others the opportunity of using the privileges of his American charter, instead of making any further attempts to improve them himself.

For this purpose, a company was formed, embracing Thomas Smith, John White, Richard Hakluyt, and a number of others, to whom Sir Walter granted the right to make settlements in Virginia, or in any other part of America where he had any interest or title.

He went farther than this, and gave them one hundred pounds, to be spent in efforts to plant the Christian religion among the benighted savages of that distant land.

But this new company seem not to have possessed the enterprise of Raleigh. Their movements were tardy and feeble. They allowed another year to slip by before any new colonists were sent forth. It was not till March, 1590, that any thing was done for the relief of the neglected settlers of Roanoke. At that time, three ships, under the direction of White, set sail from Plymouth,

England, and on the 3d of August, they arrived at the low, sandy island west of Wococon. When they came within sight of Roanoke, they saw a great cloud of smoke rising from that island, which they supposed was made by the colonists, as it arose from near the spot where Governor White left the settlers three years before. The shore was carefully examined as the vessels approached, to discover, if possible, some of the colonists, with whom they might immediately open communications, and send word to the long-forsaken and disconsolate company, that friends, supplies, and fresh recruits had at last arrived to gladden their hearts and strengthen their hands in their dreary solitude. But no human being was seen. The smoke kept rising up like a great column, as if it were a signal to them, informing them of the location of those whom they sought.

On the evening of the 15th of August, they anchored off Hatorask, and on the 16th, Captains Cook and Spicer, with two boats manned, went ashore at Roanoke to communicate the joyful intelligence of their arrival. We shall let Governor White, who was with the exploring company that landed, relate the adventures in his own language. His statement is as follows : —

“ At our putting from the ship, we commanded our master gunner to make ready two minions and

a falcon, well loaden, and to shoot them off, with reasonable space between every shot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find some of our people. This was accordingly performed, and our two boats put off unto the shore. In the admiral's boat we sounded all the way, and found from our ship until we came within a mile of the shore, nine, eight, and seven fadome; but before we were half way between our ships and the shore, we saw another great smoke to the south-west of Kindrikers Mounts; we therefore thought good to go to that second smoke first. But it was much further from the harbor where we landed than we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before we came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more was, that when we came to the smoke, we found no man, nor sign that any had been there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drink. Being thus wearied with this journey, we returned to the harbor, where we left our boats, who in our absence had brought their cask ashore for fresh water; so we deferred our going to Roanoke until the next morning, and caused some of those sailors to dig in those sandy hills for fresh water, whereof we found very sufficient. That night we returned aboard with our boats and our who'e company in safety.

“The next morning, being the 17th of August, our boats and company were prepared again to go up to Roanoke; but Captain Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by means whereof it was ten of the clock, afternoon, before we put from our ships, which were then come to an anchor within two miles of the shore. The admiral’s boat was half way toward the shore, when Captain Spicer put off from his ship. The admiral’s boat first past the beach, but not without some danger of sinking; for we had a sea break into our boat which filled us half full of water; but, by the will of God and careful steerage of Captain Cook, we came safe ashore, saving only that our furniture, victuals, match, and powder were much wet and spoiled. For at this time the wind blew at north-east, and direct into the harbor so great a gale, that the sea breake extremely on the bar, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our admiral’s boat was hauled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry. Captain Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was half passed over, but by the rash and indiscreet steerage of Ralph Skinner, his master’s mate, a very dangerous sea break into their boat, and overset them quite. The men kept the boat, some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it

beat so that some of them were forced to let go their hold, hoping to wade ashore ; but the sea still beat them down, so that they could neither stand nor swim, and the boat, twice or thrice, was turned the keel upward, whereon Captains Spicer and Skinner hung until they sunk and were seen no more. But four, that could swim a little, kept themselves in deeper water, and were saved by Captain Cook's means, who, so soon as he saw their oversetting, stripped himself, and four other that could swim very well, and with all haste possible, rowed unto them, and saved four. They were eleven in all, and seven of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelly, Thomas Bevis, Hance, the surgeon, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the sailors, that they were all of one mind not to goe any farther to seek the planters. But in the end, by the commandment and persuasion of me and Captain Cook, they prepared the boats ; and seeing the captain and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boats and all things fitted again, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of nineteen persons in both boats ; but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile ; there we espied, towards the north end

of the island, the light of a great fire through the woods, to the which we presently rowed. When we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore, and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answer; we therefore landed at daybreak, and coming to the fire, we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamongwepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side, round about the north point of the island, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586. In all this way, we saw, in the sand, the print of the savages' feet, of two or three sorts, trodden the night; and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof, were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C R O; which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me, at my last departure from them, which was, that in any ways they should not fail to write, or carve on the trees or posts of the doors, the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away, they were prepared to remove from Roanoke fifty miles into the



main. Therefore, at my departure from them in an. 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name a cross + in this form ; but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses ; but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed, with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers, very fort-like, and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five foot from the ground, in fair capital letters, was graven CROATOAN, without any cross or sign of distress ; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron sacker-shot and such like heavy things, thrown in here and there, almost overgrown with grass and weeds. From thence, we went along by the water side towards the point of the creek, to see if we could find any of their boats or pinnate ; but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the last falcons and small ordinance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors, meeting us, told us, that they had found where divers chests had been hidden and long since digged up again

and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left of such things as the savages knew any use of undamaged. Presently, Captain Cook and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench made two years past by Captain Amidas, where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests, three were my own, and about the place many of my things, spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the



Finding Goods.

covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armor

almost eaten through with rust. This could be no other but the deed of the savages, our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and as soon as they were departed, digged up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried; but although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet, on the other side, I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends.

“When we had seen in this place so much as we could, we returned to our boats, and departed from the shore towards our ships with as much speed as we could, for the weather began to overcast, and very likely that a foul and stormy night would ensue. Therefore the same evening, with much danger and labor, we got ourselves aboard, by which time the wind and seas were so greatly risen, that we doubted our cables and anchors would scarcely hold until morning. Wherefore the captain caused the boat to be manned with five lusty men, who could swim all well, and sent them to the little island on the right hand of the harbor, to bring aboard six of our men who had filled our cask with fresh water. The boat the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our casks ready filled they left behind, impossible to be had

aboard without danger of casting away both men and boats; for this night proved very stormy and foul.

“The next morning, it was agreed by the captain and myself, with the master and others, to weigh anchor and go for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were, for that then the wind was good for that place, and also to leave that cask with fresh water on shore in the island till our return. So then they brought the cable to the capstan; but when the anchor was almost apeak, the cable broke, by means whereof we lost another anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shore, that we were forced to let fall a third anchor, which came so fast home, that the ship was almost aground by Kenrics’ Mounts, so that we were forced to let slip the cable, end for end. And if it had not chanced that we had fallen into a channel of deeper water, closer by the shore than we accounted of, we could never have gone clear of the point that lyeth to the southward of Kenrick’s Mounts. Being thus clear of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some loss, for we had but one cable and anchor left us of four, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler, our victuals scarce, and our cask and fresh water lost, it was therefore determined that we should go for St. John or some other island to

the southward for fresh water; and it was farther purposed, that if we could any ways supply our wants of victuals and other necessities, either at Hispaniola, St. John, or Trinidad, that then we should continue in the Indies all the winter following, with hope to make two rich voyages of one, and at our return to visit our countrymen at Virginia. The captain and the whole company in the admiral (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested only to know what the master of the Moonlight, our consort, would do herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany us in that new determination, they alledged that their weak and leak ship was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leaving the Moonlight to go directly for England, and the admiral set his course for Trinidad."

Such is the account, as given by one of the prominent actors on the occasion, and who, in consequence of having been the governor of the colony which had been left in Virginia, would be likely to give as strong a defence of the course pursued by these visiting vessels as it would bear. And yet the final decision of this company, who had been sent out on purpose to find and relieve the long-neglected settlers, awakens within us great surprise.

In August, 1587, the colony which had landed upon the American shores for the purpose of founding "the city of Raleigh," consisted of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children. One of the women was Governor White's own daughter, and one of the children was his grandchild, born in the land, and called Virginia Dare. They had been left in the midst of savages, some of whom were deadly hostile, whilst others, professing to be friendly, might have been deceitful, or might easily have had their friendship converted into hatred and enmity. In addition to these perils, they were unsupplied with suitable dwellings, and possessed but a small amount of provisions. At their earnest and unanimous desire, Governor White returned to England to obtain supplies as speedily as possible. *Yet three years passed away before he returned.* And when he came back, bringing with him what he must have supposed would be very acceptable supplies and very joyful intelligence, finding them absent from Roanoke, and marks indicating that they had gone to Croatan, an Indian town on the south part of Cape Lookout, instead of pushing on to the latter place to learn the condition of his countrymen and of his own daughter, or instead of seeking the natives, to ascertain from them what intelligence they could impart respecting the emigrants, he turns the prow of his vessels, and

abandons the settlers to their fate. These colonists, who were to have built "the city of Raleigh," were never heard of again! They were inexcusably neglected and abandoned. It is left for the imagination to picture their bitter experience, their fears, their anxieties, their hopes of relief followed by painful disappointment, their conflicts with hunger, with the elements, with the climate, with disease, and with the barbarous savages, and finally, perhaps their lingering captivities, or their horrid deaths.

It is somewhat singular, considering their number, and the fact that the country was repeatedly visited, that no further trace of these colonists was ever found.

Sir Walter Raleigh sent out five expeditions in pursuit of them, but they could learn nothing concerning them. A tradition afterwards was found to exist among the Hatteras Indians, that, being discouraged by their long neglect at home, they finally took up their abode among them, and in process of time were amalgamated with them. The wigwams of the Indians furnished them with homes, and Indian damsels became their wives.

This tradition is supposed to receive confirmation from the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and the Indian traits appear to be blended. But of this there is no certainty.

Oblivion has drawn an impenetrable veil over their final history.

Thus sadly terminated the early efforts to establish a colony upon Roanoke. At the present time, this island is nearly destitute of inhabitants. Intrepid pilots and fearless wreckers, in whose ear the roaring winds and the rolling surf make sweet harmony, are the only occupants of the classic spot, where English graves were first dug, and English settlements first attempted, upon the soil of the United States. The indistinct ruins of the old fort, which still exist, furnish the only monument of their enterprise and their sorrows.



## CHAPTER XII.

The two Companies. — The obnoxious Charter. — Divine Providence controlling Nations. — Rev. Mr. Hunt. — His Troubles and Perseverance. — The Missionary Spirit. — Hot Springs. — Numerous Birds. — Captain John Smith. — His Popularity. — His Imprisonment. — The two Capes. — The Landing. — Attack of the Savages. — Their Repulse. — Oysters. — Flowers. — Strawberries. — Point Comfort. — The Sealed Box. — Anxiety to open it. — Its Contents. — The Officers of the Colony. — Explanations. — A Place for a Settlement.

AFTER the unaccountable disappearance of the colonists at Roanoke, all efforts for the settlement of the country were suspended for twelve years. At the end of this period attempts began to be renewed. Several expeditions were fitted out to visit the new world for purposes of discovery and commercial enterprise. But nothing permanent was effected until 1606, when, through the earnest and long-continued efforts of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, a company was formed and a charter obtained for the purpose of planting a settlement in Virginia.

Among the prominent men of this company were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluyt, clerk, Edward Maria Wingfield, and Rev. Robert Hunt. These, with their coadjutors, constituted what was called the *southern* company, to distinguish them from another, called the *northern*

company. By the charter, which was granted to these two companies, all that part of America embraced within the latitudes from thirty-four to forty-five degrees north of the equator was divided into two parts, and to the southern or London company was granted the privilege of establishing a settlement any where between the degrees of thirty-four and forty-one. The other, sometimes called the Plymouth company, were allowed to colonize any where between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees, provided there should be at least a hundred miles between the two settlements, for each was permitted to extend fifty miles along the coast in each direction.

The charter which the king granted to the colonists was far from being liberal in its character, and contained two provisions which showed the jealous regard of the king for his own prerogatives, and which must have been extremely repulsive to the colonists. The first was the appointment of a council by the king, who were to be residents in England, and were to have the whole control of colonial affairs. They were to hold their office only so long as the king pleased; the other provision was the appointment of local councils, who were to be residents in the colonies, and who were to have the immediate oversight of affairs, but who were to be subject to the home council in England. These also, like the former, were to be designated by the

king. The jealous monarch reserved to himself authority to control the legislation of the colonies, in their minute as well as their more important matters — an arrangement which, as might have been foreseen, was a source of great irritation to the colonies, and tended to alienate them from their “fatherland.”

Obnoxious arrangements like these were the seeds of the American revolution and of our national independence. It is interesting to observe how the despotic elements which were intermingled with our colonial institutions and laws were the means, ultimately, of working out the great problem of national freedom. The Ruler of nations, in overseeing the beginnings of our history, allowed “the wrath of man” to throw in influences from which, at a later period, He would reap to himself a revenue of praise in the reaction of those influences by which would be overthrown the institutions they were originally designed to support, and others of a different character established in their place.

It is equally true of nations as of men, that they are under the control of an all-wise, overruling Providence; that they know not to what results their own measures will lead; that whilst their “hearts devise their way, the Lord directeth their steps.” This truth received a very significant illustration in the history of the American colonies.

Notwithstanding the despotic provisions of the charter, it was adopted, and arrangements were made to plant settlements. The company which was formed for that purpose provided two ships, one of a hundred tons, the other of only forty; to these were added a pinnace of only twenty tons. To this small fleet of very small vessels, the transportation of the colony was committed, under the direction of Captain Christopher Newport.

Before they left England, the orders of the king's council were given them in a sealed box, which they were strictly forbidden to open until they arrived in Virginia.

On the 19th of December, 1606, the fleet left England, conveying another colony of one hundred and five to Virginia, amongst whom were Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Robert Hunt, preacher, George Percy, and John Ratcliffe.

They had scarcely left port before they were met by head winds, by which they were kept within sight of England for six weeks. During this period, Rev Mr. Hunt, their minister, was so seriously sick, that at times his recovery was regarded as exceedingly doubtful. To add to his troubles, some of the company, who were little better than atheists, cast unjust imputations upon him. Yet, although some of the time, when in the Downs, he was but twenty miles from home, neither his severe sickness nor his unde-

served censures were sufficient to induce him to abandon the enterprise. Being a minister of Christ, we may suppose that he was actuated by a missionary spirit, and was anxious to disseminate the truths of religion among the barbarous natives of Virginia. For one object of King James in approving of this enterprise, as specified in the charter, dated April 10, 1606, which he gave them, was that, by the providence of God, "so noble a work might hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may, in time, bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

And in the instruction which he gave to the "king's council," who were to superintend the affairs of the colony, under date of November 20, 1606, occurs the following order: "That the true word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the savages bordering upon them, according to the rites and doctrine of the church of England."

As, therefore, one object of this enterprise was the dissemination of the Christian religion among the rude and ignorant aborigines, nothing could deter Mr. Hunt, the clergyman of the company, from per

severing in the benevolent work which he had undertaken. It was well for the colonists that he resolved not to leave them, for "so many discontents did then arise that had he not with the water of patience, and godly exhortations, (but chiefly by his true devoted examples,) quenched those flames of envy and dissension," the expedition might have proved a failure.



Cooking over a natural Spring.

They pursued the old and tedious route by way of the West Indies ; they stopped to take in water at the Canary Islands ; at Dominico they opened trade with the savages ; at Guadaloupe they found a spring, the water of which was so hot that they

boiled pork in it as well as over fire; and on a small island called Monica they took from the bushes such great quantities of birds with their hands as to fill nearly two hogsheads in three or four hours. In Mevis, Mona, and the Virgin Isles they spent some time, where they fared well, being daily feasted upon tortoises, pelicans, parrots, fishes, and, as Captain Smith describes it, "a loathsome beast, like a crocodile, called a gwayn."

Captain John Smith, a man of much experience, and who had passed through a variety of novel and perilous adventures prior to his engaging in this attempt to found colonies in America, had become quite popular with the emigrants with whom he sailed. His popularity and influence excited the envy of the other leaders of the enterprise, who soon originated the unreasonable report that it was Smith's design to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia; and that this could be proved by the confederates leagued with him, who were scattered in the three different vessels of the fleet. Smith, being a man of independent spirit, and conscious of innocence, took no pains to rebut these charges and conciliate his enemies. The consequence was, that when they arrived at the Canaries, the quarrel became so serious that Smith was seized, imprisoned, and kept in close confinement thirteen weeks.

As they pursued their voyage towards the coast of America, they found that they had passed their reckoning by three days without finding land. This fact greatly disheartened the colonists, and even moved Captain Ratcliffe, commander of the pinnace, to propose that they should give up the enterprise, and return to England. But a violent storm arose, and, contrary to all expectation, drove them to their desired port.

The first land they made they called, in honor of the Prince of Wales, Cape Henry; the opposite cape on the north they named Cape Charles, after the Duke of York, who afterwards became King Charles I. of England. These are the two lips of Chesapeake Bay, which opens like a great mouth towards the Atlantic. It was into this noble expanse of water that they were driven by the storm.

After so long a voyage, as the men were anxious to set their feet once more upon *terra firma*, the captain gave permission for thirty of them to land upon Cape Henry. As the boats left with their companies of men, they were narrowly watched by a party of savages who were concealed upon the shore. After a landing had been effected, and the men were indulging in whatever recreations they preferred, these savages seized a favorable opportunity, and, "creeping upon all fours from the hills like bears," made a sudden attack upon them, by



which two of the English were seriously wounded. But the enemy were soon obliged to retire before the fire-arms of the immigrants.

This warlike reception was neither adapted to allay fear nor inspire hope in the hearts of the colonists; yet it may have had a good effect in quickening their vigilance and increasing their caution in their subsequent interviews with the natives.

In the bed of one of the rivers they found oysters in great abundance, many of which contained pearls. The land produced a variety of noble trees, interspersed with many beautiful and fragrant flowers. Strawberries also abounded, four times larger, and of much sweeter flavor, than those which were produced in England.

Finding a place for safe anchorage, "which put them in good comfort," they named it from that circumstance Point Comfort.

Upon their first arrival, no little anxiety was felt to ascertain the contents of the sealed box which had been committed to them by the home government, with directions to open it within twenty-four hours after their arrival, and not till then.

As it was, they found themselves upon the shores of the new world for the purpose of establishing a settlement, and as yet were without a governor, without a local council, and without laws for their guidance. It being known that the appointment of

officers, and the rules by which they should administer the affairs of the colony, were contained in that box, the company were solicitous to break its seal.

Accordingly, on the evening of the day when the savages made their attack, this box was opened in due form, and the important documents contained therein read; from which it was ascertained that the following persons were appointed the council: Edward Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall. They were empowered to choose a governor, and, with him, to manage the affairs of the settlement.

After this, they were occupied till the 13th of May in making explorations, in order to find a suitable place on which to establish their colony.

They finally fixed upon a peninsula on the River Powhatan, about forty miles from its mouth, as a desirable location on which to commence operations.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Smith unjustly ejected from the Council. — Building of Jamestown. — Wingfield's Indiscretion. — Romantic Residence of the Indian King. — Powhatan's Conduct. — Attack on Jamestown. — Prowling Indians. — Ambuscades. — Severe Toil. — Attempt to send Smith Home. — Captain Smith's Trial. — His honorable Acquittal. — President Wingfield convicted and sentenced. — Smith's Disinterestedness. — Good Influence of Mr. Hunt. — Smith admitted to the Council Board. — Singular Fact. — Interesting Coincidence.

AFTER having selected a site for their new town, their next business was the election of a president of the colony. Their choice fell upon Edward Maria Wingfield.

When it was found that Captain John Smith had been appointed one of the council, his enemies, by whom he had been kept for so long a time confined, were determined that he should not serve, and Mr. Wingfield, the president, delivered an address in which he assigned the reason for this decision.

It does not redound to the honor of the new colony that one of their first measures was an act of disobedience to their instructions from the home government, by which one of their number was unjustly deprived of his rights.

No time, however, was lost in discussing the wisdom or folly of this first step of the local council

More important practical matters were pressed upon the attention of the immigrants. They were without houses and without shelter, except what was furnished by the friendly branches of the trees, or by projecting rocks. Dwellings were to be reared. Accordingly, the sound of the axe, the saw, and the hammer was soon heard echoing and reëchoing among the trees of the forest. The council employed themselves in planning a fort, others felled trees to make a clearing for their tents, in which they were to live till houses could be constructed. "Some provide clapbord to relade the ships; some make gardens, some nets." \*

The town was called after his majesty, King of England, Jamestown, and Powhatan River, on which it stood, was changed to James River.

Whilst engaged at their work, the colonists were often visited by the tawny natives, who conducted themselves in a peaceful manner, and appeared to be on friendly terms with these new strangers. To avoid exciting their suspicions and fears, the president would allow of no military exercise; and he even went so far as to forbid the erection of any other fortification than such as could be made by the boughs of trees. It was not long, however, before he was convinced of his indiscretion.

\* Generall Historie of Virginia, by John Smith.

After Captain Smith was liberated from his unjust confinement, though he was not allowed to act as councilman, he was permitted, in company with Captain Newport and twenty others, to go in search of the head waters of the James River. He at once availed himself of the opportunity. For though he had been the subject of great unkindness, and knew that he had just grounds of complaint, still his interest in the welfare of the colony was not allowed to diminish.

On this excursion they passed by several small Indian villages, and on the sixth day they arrived at a town of more importance than any they had previously seen. It consisted of twelve houses, romantically situated on a hill which commanded a beautiful view of the surrounding country; before them in the river were three islands covered with trees and shrubbery, and on the plains around were the cornfields of the villagers.

This was the residence of the famous "emperor of the country," whose name was Powhatan, and is supposed to have been situated a short distance below the falls, near Richmond. To this point the river was found navigable, but the rapids with which they here met prevented farther advancement. They here took formal possession of the country in the name of King James.

Powhatan received his visitors with the show of

kindness, and manifested pleasure at the reception of a hatchet which was presented to him by Captain Newport.

Throughout their entire route they experienced no other than kind treatment from all the Indians whom they met.

But when they returned they found it had been far different with those whom they had left behind. During their absence the Indians had taken advantage of the unprotected state of the colony, and had attacked them, killing one boy and wounding seventeen men.

The president was now convinced of the folly of his policy, and made immediate preparations to defend himself from any similar attack. The fort was palisadoed ; the cannon were mounted, and the men were drilled in the use of arms and in military manœuvres. Dr. Simons, in his *Account of the Proceedings and Accidents of the Colony*, says, " Had it not chanced a cross-bar shot from the ships struck down a bough from a tree, that caused them to retire, our men had been all slain, being securely all at work, and their arms in dry fats."

The Indians were constantly prowling around the colonists, and seized every occasion to annoy them. Their assaults were numerous. And whenever the settlers went into the woods, or wandered along the shores of the river, they were liable to fall into an

ambush of the savages, who were frequently found lying in wait for this purpose, and be cut off.

It required great labor and unceasing vigilance for this small company to resist their enemies by day, be on watch all night, cut down trees, relade the ships, build their houses, and prepare the ground for planting.

When the time arrived for the vessels to return to England, it was proposed by some of the leaders of the enterprise, of whom President Wingfield was one of the chief, that they should send Captain Smith home to receive the censure of the king's council for the treasonable designs which they alleged against him, and for which they had kept him a prisoner thirteen weeks. It was pretended that this proposition arose from their compassion towards Smith, as they professed to believe that his sentence would be milder there than though he were to be tried and punished by the colony. But the noble-minded, independent prisoner was not the man to be wheedled out of his just rights by their artful policy, nor betrayed by his own fears into an act of indiscretion. Being conscious of innocence, and deeply interested in the welfare of the colony, he loudly demanded a trial at once. He had no idea of allowing his jealous enemies to put him out of the way by sending him across the Atlantic. He, therefore, insisted upon a trial on the spot. He came off victoriously ;

for although many falsehoods were reported about him, he triumphantly disproved them all, and then exposed the villanous plots which had been laid by his opponents to secure his overthrow. The witnesses who were called to prove his guilt, instead of testifying against him, accused his persecutors; the consequence was, that not only was Smith honorably acquitted, but President Wingfield, one of the most active in originating the false reports against him, and getting up this unjust prosecution, was himself convicted, and compelled to pay Smith a fine of a thousand dollars; to do which he had to submit to the seizure of all his effects.

Captain Smith, who was satisfied with the verdict of his own acquittal, had no disposition to avail himself of the fine which had been awarded him; he therefore, with his characteristic generosity, presented it to the colony, to be added to their public property.

After this administration of the law, the pious Mr. Hunt, the clergyman of the colony, added the peaceful influences of the gospel, and by his good doctrines and discreet exhortations succeeded in allaying the animosities and strifes which their excited passions had engendered. He was also successful in securing the admission of Captain Smith to the board of councillors, from which, without just cause, he had been ejected. The next day they all par-



took of the communion together in confirmation that peace and harmony were restored.

It is a singular circumstance that Captain Smith, one of the strongest friends of the colony, should have been the first person tried for a crime, and Wingfield, the first president, should have been the first one to receive punishment.

On the 15th of June the Indians voluntarily sued for peace. The same day Captain Newport, with the fleet, sailed for England, leaving one hundred persons at Jamestown to establish the first permanent settlement in the limits of the present Virginia.

It is an interesting coincidence, that precisely the same number landed at Plymouth on the 22d of December, 1620.\* The two colonies, who, during future years, were to have such great influence in the settlement of the whole country, in the establishment of free institutions, and the founding of one of the most enlightened, liberal, and powerful governments on earth, each consisted of a hundred persons.

\* Young's Chronicles.

## CHAPTER XIV.

**Quaint Language. — The President's Selfishness. — Trials of the Planters. — Frequent Deaths. — The President's Imbecility. — Smith's Influence. — His Example of Industry. — Dwellings provided. — Provisions scarce. — Smith searches the Country for Food. — Insulting Offers of the Savages. — Smith's Treatment of them. — Terrific Attack. — Peace and Provisions secured. — Bartering. — Smith censured. — Exploring Excursion. — Waste-fulness of the Planters. — Wingfield's Plot. — Its Detection and Prevention. — Abundance of Game. — Smith examines the Chickahominy River. — He leaves his Boat and takes to a Canoe.**

DURING the time that the vessels remained with them, the colonists were abundantly supplied with provisions. But when they departed, it was far otherwise. Simons, in his relation, quaintly says the reason was this: "Whilst the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of biscuit, which the sailors would pilfer to sell, give, or exchange with us for money, sassafras, furs, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer house, nor place of relief but the common kettle. Had we been as free from all sins as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints."

But during this time of distress, the president had an abundance, by appropriating to his own use the

stores of the colony. Whilst he was living luxuriously upon oatmeal, sack, oil, aqua vitæ, spirits, beef, and eggs, the people were reduced to the common kettle, which contained "half a pint of water and as much barley boiled with water for a man a day, and this, having fried some twenty-six weeks in the ship's hold, contained as many worms as grains; so that we might truly call it so much bran than corn: our drink was water, our lodgings castles in the air." Occasionally they were favored with crabs and sturgeons.

In addition to this wretched diet, they were subjected to severe labor in cutting, carrying, and planting their palisadoes and performing other necessary work under the rays of a burning sun. The consequence was, that disease set in and made sad havoc among them. One after another they dropped into the silent grave, filling the hearts of their survivors with sorrow, and opening the fountain of their tears, until, by September, one half of their number had died, among whom was Captain Gosnold.

The president, who seems to have been a very unsuitable person to have the management of the affairs of the plantation, being detected in arranging a plan to escape to England in the pinnace which had been left behind, and thus leave the colonists to their fate, so excited the whole company that they deposed him, and appointed Captain John Ratcliffe in his place.

As Newport had returned, Gosnold deceased, Wingfield and Kendall, his accomplices, in disgrace, and their vacancies in the council not supplied, the whole authority of the council was vested in Ratcliffe, the new president, Martin, and Smith. As the first two did not enjoy to any high degree the esteem and confidence of the planters, as they were not reliable for wise counsels in times of peril, nor remarkable for their industry in time of peace, every thing at first was left to the management of Smith, who proved himself fully adequate to the task.

By kind persuasions and fair promises, sustained by his own example, he succeeded in setting the men to work, who, in view of their discouraging circumstances, were disposed to indolence. Some began to mow grass with which to make a covering for their houses, others to bind thatch, others to construct houses, and others still to cover them with thatch; Smith, in the mean while, bearing the greatest amount of labor as his own share, so that in a short time he provided the most of them with dwellings, though, with his usual self-forgetfulness, he reared none for himself.

As their stock of provisions was now nearly exhausted, it became necessary to make arrangements to obtain a fresh supply. Accordingly, Captain Smith, with a company of six or seven others,

resolved to penetrate into the country, open trade with the Indians, and from them procure, if possible, enough to meet the immediate wants of the colony. He was fully aware of the difficulty and responsibility of the undertaking. The great number of the Indians, his ignorance of the language, the want of a sufficient force, clothing for his men, and other necessities, furnished great impediments, but not enough to divert him from his purpose.

His first visit was to an Indian settlement called Kecoughtan, near the present location of Hampton. As these wily savages were acquainted with the destitution of the colonists, they received them with most provoking derision. They offered them, in a scornful manner, a handful of corn or a small piece of bread for their swords and muskets, and in like proportion for their clothing and other articles, but manifested no disposition to enter upon the sober business of trade. Such conduct was not at all adapted to the character of Smith. He was not a man to be trifled with. Finding that nothing could be obtained from these savages by traffic, nor courtesy, he adopted other and more stringent measures, as in his judgment the case required, although in so doing he exceeded his commission. He discharged his muskets among them, which created such a panic that they all betook themselves to flight, and hid among the trees of a neighboring woods.

Taking advantage of their absence, he ran his boat ashore, and then marched up to their wigwams, where he found large quantities of corn, which his hungry men were so eager to seize that it was with difficulty he restrained them from immediately loading their boat with the coveted food. Smith opposed this, because he did not want to irritate the Indians by robbing them, and because he believed they would rally in the woods where they had now fled, and would return to the attack. He was not mistaken; for in a short time a movement was discovered among the trees. Dusky forms were seen darting to and fro, as if preparations were making for some kind of a demonstration. Presently some sixty or seventy issued from the woods, with their *Okce* borne before them. This was an idol made of the skins of animals, stuffed with moss, rudely painted, and ornamented with chains and copper jewelry. They probably took it with them to battle, with the expectation that it would protect them in the conflict, and secure to them the victory.

These Indians were painted in the most frightful manner, as if by their mere appearance they would strike terror into their enemies. Some were colored black, some red, some white, and some were variegated. They came out of the woods in square order, dancing, with many strange gesticulations, and yelling in the most hideous manner. It required great

firmness to remain unmoved in the presence of such brutalized human beings, with such a combination of frightful figures, violent warlike gestures, and horrid howlings. But Captain Smith, during his eventful life, had had too much experience to be terrified now by paint, capers, and sound. As the savages, armed with bows, arrows, targets, and clubs, advanced to the attack, the English poured into them a volley of musketry loaded with pistol shot, which produced such an effect that down fell their idol, Dagon-like, to the ground, and down fell a number of the Indians, who found that from little holes mysteriously made in their bodies by the fire weapons of their enemies, another color was flowing forth, mingling with the paint with which they were smeared. Those who were not wounded retreated with all speed to the woods, and sought shelter behind the largest trees.

The loss of their idol they regarded as a great misfortune, and being extremely unwilling that it should be carried away, they sent one of their *quiyoughkasoucks*, or priests, with proposals of peace, to redeem it. Captain Smith received this messenger kindly, and gave him to understand that if they would send six of their company unarmed, and load his boat with provisions, he would not only restore to them their much-prized *Okee*, but would become their friend, and give them beads, copper,

and hatchets. The priest returned and communicated the result of his interview to the Indians, who regarded the proposition as liberal, and immediately went to work to comply with the terms proposed. Six unarmed savages were soon seen bringing to the boat venison, turkeys, wild fowl, bread, and other acceptable articles, for which Smith gave in exchange beads, pieces of copper, and hatchets. Peace being thus established, the savages commenced again singing and dancing; but though their music and motions were as uncouth as ever, they were of a different character from those in which they indulged previous to the conflict. Instead of expressing threats and defiance, they were of a peaceful nature, and were designed as an expression of their friendship. This was continued until the English departed.

Smith now returned, with his boat well laden, to the starving colonists, who were rejoiced to welcome him and partake of his abundance. Encouraged by the success of this first excursion, Smith projected others, during one of which he discovered a tribe of Indians called the Chickahominy. It was not long before he ascertained that the supplies which he, with so much labor and peril, obtained, were, during his absence, shamelessly wasted. Such was the imbecility of the president, and Martin being sick, that when Smith was absent, the colony had no suitable head. Property was squandered, dissensions



ensued, and every man did what was right in his own eyes.

Wingfield and Kendall, who had not recovered from their disgrace, took advantage of Smith's absence to concoct a plan of escape, by taking the pinnace and privately fleeing to England. They had got on board, and were about to sail, when Smith unexpectedly returned, and made a discovery of the plot. He at once forbade their going; but finding them disposed to disregard his authority, he turned upon them the cannon of the fort, and threatened to sink them if they did not desist. Undeterred by his threats, they persevered in their attempt, when he opened upon them a fire of musketry and cannon, and compelled them to abandon their project. In the engagement, Captain Kendall was slain.

Notwithstanding this exhibition of Smith's firmness, it was not long before the president, John Ratcliffe, and Captain Archer were detected in making a similar attempt, which, however, through Smith's adroitness, was effectually defeated.

Food being constantly needed, Smith went on a trading voyage to the Chickahominy River, to certain Indians whom he had promised to visit. When he arrived, he found that he had been expected, for hundreds of the natives were waiting with large baskets full of corn to open trade with him.

"And now," says Simons, "the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, ducks, and cranes; that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia peas, pompions, and putchamins, fish, fowl, and divers sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them; so that none of our tuftaffaty humorists desired to go for England. But our comedies never endured long without a tragedy."

Some among the planters, so far from being grateful to Captain Smith for his unwearied efforts to supply their wants and promote the welfare of the plantation, indulged in complaints against him, because he had not discovered the sources of the Chickahominy River. With these complaints the council sympathized.

It was one of the orders of the home government that some time should be spent in making discoveries, and especially to follow up the branches of rivers, to ascertain whether they originated in lakes, or sprang from mountains, giving the preference to those which tended to the north-west. The object of this was to discover, if possible, a passage, by water, across the continent to the North Pacific Ocean.

Smith, ever ready for new adventures, knowing these orders, and being stimulated by the complaints of the colonists, set out again to reach, if possible, the source of the Chickahominy. He had not

proceeded far before his progress was obstructed by large trees, which had fallen into the water and choked the passage. His oars becoming useless, he employed his axe, and with great labor cut a canal through the branches, and passed up as far as his boat would go, where he fortunately found a large bay. This was just what he wanted ; so anchoring his boat in this bay at such a distance from the shore as to be out of reach of the Indians' arrows, and ordering his men whom he left in her not to leave the boat for any excursions on land, he took two Englishmen and two natives, and pushed farther on in a light canoe. The singular adventures with which he met will be narrated in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XV.

**Disobeying Orders. — Its painful Consequence. — Fate of two Canoe Men. — Indian Skill in Trailing. — A live Shield. — An Accident. — Smith captured. — His Policy. — Exhibits a Pocket Compass. — Gives a Lecture. — Great Astonishment. — Smith sentenced to die. — His Reprieve. — Triumphal Procession. — How Smith is fed. — He suffers from Cold. — Gratitude in an Indian. — Revenge. — Reward offered for Treason. — Mysterious Note. — Indians visit Jamestown. — Their Reception. — Effect of the Note. — Finding of Toys. — Smith publicly exhibited.**

**AFTER** Smith and his four companions had disappeared in the distance, the men who were left behind found the protection of the boat to be very monotonous business. Instead of sitting still in an anchored barge far off from the shore, gazing upon the rocks and trees which skirted the bay, or watching the slowly changing shadows as they marked the sun's decline, they desired active employment. They longed for an adventure of some kind for the sake of variety. Therefore, in violation of their captain's orders, they put into the shore and landed. This was an unfortunate move, for it gave the savages, who, probably, had been in concealment, observing all their movements, an opportunity to waylay them, by which one of them,

whose name was George Cassen, was taken prisoner, and all of them came near being cut off.

Finding themselves in possession of one of the whites, the Indians compelled him to tell where Captain Smith had gone, and then cruelly put him to death. After this, they divided themselves into separate bands, and taking different directions, went in pursuit of him.

Smith had ascended the stream about twenty miles farther, when, finding it impossible for his canoe to advance beyond that point, he left it among the marshes, in the care of the two Englishmen Robinson and Emery, and went in pursuit of game with which to furnish them all with meat. During his absence, the Indians discovered the two Englishmen, being probably guided to the place of their concealment by a fire which they had kindled, the smoke of which had betrayed them. They immediately sent upon them a shower of arrows, and slew them, and then went in search of Smith.

In all probability, if Englishmen had set out in pursuit of Smith, it would have been a long time before they would have found him, if indeed they had succeeded at all. But these Indians, from long practice in following the trail of their enemies through forests, fields, and swamps, had become so expert, that they could pursue them with great certainty where the eye of a white man could

discover no traces whatever. The leaning of the grass; the slight bending of a bough out of its natural direction; an occasional broken twig, or fresh-torn leaves, which an inexperienced eye would not notice,—would furnish them with positive evidence of the course which had been taken.

After the Indians had left the dead bodies of the two men whom they had murdered, it was not long before they discovered Smith. Finding himself in danger of being slain by the arrows which



Smith and his living Shield.

they poured upon him, he, with his usual presence of mind, tied his Indian guide to his arm with his garter, that he might use him as a shield. Then

loading his gun as rapidly as he could, he returned their fire with fatal effect. In the mean time, with his living shield tied to his arm, he endeavored to retreat to his canoe. The savages followed him; but as he could send his bullets farther than they could their arrows, they were afraid to approach within arrow shot. With such sure aim did he fire, that he killed three of his pursuers, and wounded a number of others. He was now in a fair way to make his escape. But whilst slowly retreating to where he left his men, and watching more closely the movements of his enemies than his own footsteps, he suddenly fell into a pit or soft morass, from which he found it impossible to extricate himself. His enemies, who had seen the fearful havoc of his gun, were afraid to approach him, though he was now floundering in the mud. They therefore kept at a distance, until Smith, finding himself almost perishing from the cold and wet, threw from him his gun, and in that manner indicated to them that he ceased resistance, and yielded himself a prisoner. They now approached, drew him half dead from the mire, and led him to the fire, where the painful scene was presented him of his two companions lying where he left them, but now cold, stiff, and lifeless.

Though he was now fully in their power, they warmed him, and rubbed his chilled limbs in order to restore him to his usual sensibility.

Smith, being a man of great sagacity, and knowing also something of the Indian character, was aware that if he exhibited the least fear, he would lose all respect in their eyes, and be more likely to receive a speedy sentence; but if, on the other hand, he could increase their reverence for him, it might operate in his favor. The band by whom he had been taken numbered three hundred, and were under the command of a distinguished chief, named Opechancanough.

Without exhibiting the least alarm, Smith boldly asked for their chief. Opechancanough being pointed out to him, he made a virtue of necessity, and presented to him a round, ivory, double compass, with the needle covered with a glass. This was an instrument having a round dial, with all the points of the mariner's compass marked upon it, and in the centre a delicate, steel, magnetized needle, poised upon a pivot, which, when at rest, would always point to the north. Over this was placed a crystal like that belonging to a watch. Its peculiar powers were explained to the chief. Smith turned it around in different directions, and then showed them how the needle would always turn back and quietly point to the north. They were highly amused at its mysterious movements; but when they put their finger down to touch it, they were amazed that they could not reach it,



the glass keeping them off. That they could so plainly see it, and yet not be able to touch it, was to them very marvellous. Smith, hoping to keep the advantage which he had gained over them in this diversion of their thoughts from his own death, continued to expatiate upon the wonderful properties of the needle, some of which were evidently the product of his own imagination. "He demonstrated, by that globe-like jewell, the roundness of the earth and skies, the sphere of the sun, moon, and stars, and how the sun did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatness of the land and sea, the diversity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, and many other such like matters, at which they all stood as amazed with admiration."

Although, by this ingenious device of Smith, they might have had their reverence for him increased, and might have regarded him as a greater conjurer than any among themselves, yet their desire for his death was nowise diminished. He had slain three of their number and wounded several others with a weapon more marvellous than was his needle. They were thirsting for his blood, and were resolved to have it.

Within an hour, arrangements for his execution were made. They bound him to a tree to prevent his escape, and then arranged themselves about

him with their weapons, prepared to shoot him. All things being ready, and when in a few minutes he would have been riddled with their arrows, their chief held up Smith's compass in his hand as a signal to them. The effect was electric. They all at once cast their weapons to the ground, and abandoned the intention of slaying him. They then released him from the tree, loosened the cords by which he was bound, and led him in a triumphal manner to Orapaks, an Indian town, whose location was a few miles north-east of the present city of Richmond.

“The order in conducting him was thus : Drawing themselves all in file, the king, in the midst, had all their pieces and swords borne before him. Captain Smith was led after him by three great savages, holding him fast by each arm, and on each side six went in file with their arrows nocked. But arriving at the town, all the women and children staring to behold him, the soldiers, all in file, performe the form of a bissom so well as could be, and on each flank, officers as serjeants to see them keep their orders. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselves in a ring, dancing in such several postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches, being strangely painted, every one his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club ; on his arm a fox or an

otter's skin, or some such matter for his vambrace ; \* their heads and shoulders painted red, with oil and pocones † mingled together, which scarlet-like color made an exceeding handsome show ; his bow in his hand, and the skin of a bird, with her wings abroad, dried, tied on his head, a piece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tails of their snakes tied to it, or some such like toy. All this while, Smith and the king stood in the midst, guarded, as before is said ; and after three dances, they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirty or forty tall fellows did guard him, and ere long more bread and venison were brought him than would have served twenty men. I think his stomach at that time was not very good. What he left they put in baskets and tied over his head. About midnight, they set the meat again before him. All this time, not one of them would eat a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more, and then did they eat all the old, and reserved the new, as they had done the other, which made him think they would fat him to eat him."

This was certainly no desirable condition to be in. The idea of being bountifully furnished with

\* *Vambrace* is the name of that piece of armor which protects the arm below the elbow.

† The berries of pokeweed.

provisions only to be fatted like a stalled ox, in order to make a better meal for others, was enough to take away one's appetite. No wonder, therefore, that Simons says, "I think his stomach at that time was not very good."

Though Smith had a plentiful supply of provisions, he was short off for clothes, and it being an unusually severe winter, he suffered not a little from cold.

It will be pleasant here to narrate an incident, which, whilst it will illustrate the benefits of kindness, will also show that the native aborigines of this country were not wholly insensible to emotions of gratitude; that, with all their bloodthirsty cruelty, they knew how to reward a favor.

When Smith first arrived in Virginia, he was visited by an Indian named Maocassater, whom he received with kindness, and to whom he gave some green beads and other ornaments, which the visitor highly valued. Smith thought no more of it. He might, perhaps, have entirely forgotten it. Not so with Maocassater. The unexpected kindness had made an impression upon his mind too deep to be erased; and now that an opportunity was offered to return it, he cheerfully availed himself of it. Seeing that Smith was poorly clad, and was suffering from cold, he generously took off his own warm robe of skins, and gave it to the shivering

captive, that with it he might make himself more comfortable. This kindness to a helpless prisoner, who had previously conferred a favor, ought not to be forgotten. Let the name of Maocassater have honorable mention so long as the story of Smith is remembered.



Indian Gratitude.

Two days after this, an attempt was made upon the life of Smith, by an Indian whose son was sick. Whether this father supposed that Smith was the cause of his son's sickness, or whether he was one of those who had been wounded by Smith in the battle, it is now impossible to tell. The murderous attempt being unsuccessful, Smith was led, probably

at his own request, to the couch of the dying man. After examining the symptoms of the patient, he told the friends standing around that he had a medicine at Jamestown which would cure him.

Either because they disbelieved his assertion, or because they were fearful of losing him, they refused to let Smith go for the medicine. They were now busily engaged in making preparations for an attack upon Jamestown, and they desired Smith to give his advice and assistance in the undertaking, promising that, in case of his compliance, they would spare his life, grant him his liberty, give him abundance of land to cultivate, and as many women for his wives and servants as he should desire. Though this was a very tempting offer, Captain Smith was not at all disposed to accept of it; yet he desired to avail himself of the sickness of this Indian patient to get word to the colony of his own condition, and of the evil design of the Indians.

As the natives were destitute of books and of a written language, they were ignorant of the fact that messages could be sent by means of notes. Smith knew that if he could only persuade some of them to take a letter to Jamestown, he could communicate his own captivity, and put the colony on their guard against surprise, without his captors' knowing what he did. He therefore informed the Indians, that if they would go to Jamestown for

him, they would obtain many toys and articles which would be of use to them. Some of them agreed to comply with his request. He then told the messengers that they must take with them a piece of paper, on which he would make some crooked marks; that when they arrived at Jamestown, the English would sally out against them, and if they left the paper with the mysterious marks upon it where the English could see it, they would find soon after, in a certain place which he designated, a variety of articles, which he ordered them to bring to him.

The messengers started upon their journey in the severest season of the year. The waters were locked in ice, and the ground covered with snow. It was a painful journey. When they arrived at Jamestown, the colonists, regarding them as enemies, sallied out upon them, as Smith had said. The Indians fled; but in so doing they dropped the paper covered with the cabalistic marks where they supposed the English would find it. This paper contained a statement of Captain Smith's captivity, and of the intended attack upon the colony. It also advised the colonists to fire off the cannon, and make other imposing warlike demonstrations in the presence of the messengers, so as to give them a salutary fright, and closed with the request that they would conceal various articles,

which he named, in a certain specified place, in order that his messengers might obtain them and bring them to him.

After the Indians had dropped the letter and fled, they carefully concealed themselves for the rest of the day. But when the sun had gone down, and the dark shadows of night had settled upon hill and valley, they cautiously left their place of concealment, and with noiseless steps, and many a furtive glance cast into the deep gloom which surrounded them, they stealthily approached the spot which Smith had designated, and there, to their great surprise, they found the articles for him and the toys for themselves, just as he had predicted.

They now retraced their steps for home, where they arrived after three days' absence. They there related, to the great astonishment of their hearers, all their adventures, and confirmed every thing that Smith had previously said respecting the great guns and explosive mines, and the ability of the colony to repel any assault the Indians might make. They dwelt with special interest upon the mysterious appearance of the promised articles in the very spot described by their captive. As all these things were so inexplicable to these ignorant red men of the forest, their superstitious fears disposed them to believe, either that their captive practised divination, or else that that leaf with the strange



marks upon it could speak. In no other way could they account for the wonderful results which had been produced.

After the successful termination of Smith's message to Jamestown, the Indians carried him about the country, and exhibited him to the various aboriginal tribes who dwelt along the line of the Rappahannoc and Patawomek (Potomac) Rivers, to whom he was a great curiosity. After a circuit of many miles, they finally returned with him to Pamaunkee, the residence of the chief Opechan-canough, which is supposed to have been near the fork of York River.

## CHAPTER XVI.

**Singular Costume. — Mysterious Ceremony. — Its Explanation. — Smith favored. — Visits Opitchapam. — Indian Beggars. — Apprehensions of Danger. — Powder planted. — Emperor Powhatan. — Indian Splendor. — Guards. — Their severe Discipline. — Subordinate Kings. — Indian Toilet. — The Emperor's Court. — The Consultation. — Smith's Sentence. — Wonderful Deliverance. — Pocahontas. — Executioners disappointed. — Smith a Toy Maker. — "The Chieftain's Daughter." — Female Kindness. — A sympathizing Brother.**

**AFTER** the Indians had returned from their triumphal display of their captive, they went through certain wild and strange ceremonies, of which Smith, in his General History of Virginia, has given the following interesting description : —

"Early in the morning, a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side as on the other. On the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal, mingled with oil ; and many snakes' and weasels' skins stuffed with moss, and all their tails tied together, so as they met on the crown of his head in a tassel ; and round about the tassel was as a coronet of feathers, the skin hanging round about his head, back, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face ; with a hellish

voice and rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meale; which done, three more such hideous beings came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted half black, half red; but all their eyes were painted white, and some red strokes like Mutchato's along their cheeks. Round about him those fiends danced a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the rest, with red eyes and white strokes over their black faces; at last they all sat down right against him, three on one side of the chief priest, and three on the other. Then all with rattles began a song, which ended, the chief priest laid down five wheat corns; then, straining his arms and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veins swelled, he began a short oration; at the conclusion, they all gave a short groan, and then laid down three grains more. After that began their song again, and then another oration, ever laying down so many corns as before, till they had twice encircled the fire; that done, they took a bunch of little sticks prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion, and at the end of every song and oration, they laid down a stick betwixt the divisions of the corn. Till night, neither he nor they did either eat or drink; and then they feasted merrily with the best provisions they could make."

These singularly wild and mysterious ceremonies were repeated three days in succession, and their explanation, as given to Smith, was, that the circle of meal signified their country; the circles made by the kernels of corn indicated the bounds of the sea; the sticks which were employed represented the country of Smith; and the design of the whole operation was to discover whether the intentions of Smith were friendly or otherwise.

The arrangement of the materials was based upon their opinion that the earth was flat and circular. As they knew that the ocean separated them from the country of Smith, they made the circle of corn, which represented the sea, to come between the meal, which stood for their own land, and the sticks, which were the symbol of Smith's country.

The result of these ceremonies seems to have been favorable for their captive; for after this, he visited, by invitation, Opitchapam, the king's brother, who welcomed him in true Indian style, and set before him large quantities of bread, fowl, and wild beasts, the inmates of the wigwam looking on while he ate, but not taking any with him. The fragments they deposited carefully in baskets.

On his return to Pamunkey, all of Chief Opechancanough's family gathered around him, beg-

ging for various articles, according to their custom on such occasions, with which to make merry. .

Smith's condition was far from being pleasant. He was a prisoner to savage barbarians, and was in suspense as to what would be his ultimate fate. Although he carried himself, as wise policy dictated, with great courage, yet he was far from being free from painful apprehensions. A rude couplet, which may have fallen from his pen, expresses his experience at night : —

“ But his waking mind, in hideous dreams, did oft see wondrous  
shapes

Of bodies strange, and huge in growth, and of stupendous  
makes.”

Whilst he was among this people, they brought him a bag of gunpowder which had been taken from him or from some other Englishman. As the grains were nearly of an equal size, and of a uniform color, they very naturally supposed that they were the seeds of some kind of plant. As they had witnessed and experienced the wonderful execution of which these small black grains were capable, they were delighted with their good fortune in getting possession of some. They kept it very carefully till the spring, and then planted it the same as corn, with the expectation of gathering a crop. When, in the summer, they found them-

selves disappointed, whether they attributed their failure to the machinations of Smith, or to their want of experience in cultivating this supposed new seed, we are not informed.

After leaving this place, Smith was next carried to Werowocomocò, the residence of their famous King Powhatan, who was a very powerful chief. As different tribes were subject to him, embracing many hundreds of warriors, he is sometimes called and described as an Indian emperor.

He lived in as much barbaric state and splendor as his circumstances would allow. He was usually surrounded by forty or fifty of the tallest and most noble-looking warriors which the country afforded. They constituted a body guard, which, after his acquaintance with the English, he increased to two hundred. Every night, he stationed a sentinel at each corner of his house, and every half hour during the night, one of the main guard gave, as a signal, a sound produced by his lips and fingers, to which each of the others was obliged to reply, as evidence of wakefulness. If any of them failed to give the expected response, an officer was immediately sent to the delinquent, and inflicted upon him severe chastisement.

At the different places where he was accustomed to spend portions of the year, he had houses for his reception, some of which were from a hundred

to a hundred and twenty feet long, and were well stored with provision. He had many females in his family, and when he slept, one sat at his head, and another at his feet. But when he was up, he usually had one sitting on each side of him.

He had thirty inferior kings subject to him, each of whom had the power of life and death over his subjects; yet to all these subordinates the will of Powhatan was supreme law, which they were bound to obey. He was revered by his subjects as though he were divine, and at his feet they cast whatever he demanded. He was extremely severe in punishing those who offended him, for he inflicted upon them the most exquisite torture that his cruel ingenuity could invent. A frown from his brow would fill the bravest hearts with fear.

When Smith arrived at the residence of this noted monarch, Powhatan and his train of confidential officers and advisers retired to array themselves in their showy robes of state, that they might be appropriately attired for so important an occasion. During the time that they were employed in arranging their toilet, Smith was surrounded by more than two hundred others, who "stood wondering at him as he had been a monster."

After the Indians had arrayed themselves in their gala robes, with skins, feathers, and orna-

mented belts, they came forth to attend to the important duty before them, which was to give their distinguished prisoner an appropriate reception, and to decide upon his fate. The etiquette which was observed on that solemn occasion was as follows : —

On one side of his wigwam, upon a raised platform, sat the renowned Powhatan, wearing a large robe of raccoon skins, ornamented with the tails of the same animals, and a coronet of feathers upon his head. On either side of him sat a young squaw, sixteen or eighteen years of age — perhaps his daughters. On both sides of the house were arranged, in a sitting posture, two rows of men, and behind them as many more women, whose faces and shoulders were painted red, on whose heads was a head-dress of feathers, or some other material, and around whose necks was suspended a great chain of white beads. In the middle of the house a fire was burning.

When all were in readiness, Captain Smith was led in and introduced to this imposing circle. As he entered, the whole company greeted him with a loud shout, which might have been heard at a great distance. The females were now ordered to wait upon him. The queen of Appamatuck was commanded to bring him water to wash his hands ; another furnished him a bunch of feathers, instead



of a towel, with which to dry them. This ceremony being through, they then supplied him with food, and feasted him according to their custom on such occasions ; after which, they held a long consultation, to decide what disposition they should make of him. Instead of releasing him, and using him as a medium through whom to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship with the whites at Jamestown, on terms mutually beneficial, which the English would gladly have entered into, their decision was of a different character. Their protracted deliberation concluded in dooming him to instant death. Accordingly, two large stones were brought in and laid before Powhatan, as it was his design to see the execution. Then began a commotion among the inmates of the cabin. The men rushed towards Smith, and as many as could get near enough to lay hold of him, seized him and dragged him towards the fatal stones. In the mean time, an interesting and favorite daughter of Powhatan, about thirteen years of age, whose name was Pocahontas, seeing the murderous design of the executioners, and knowing that her father had full power to prevent further proceedings, began to intercede with him in an earnest manner to spare the life of his prisoner. It was a most touching scene. Smith, bound, helpless, and in the power of his enemies, lay with his head upon the stone. The executioners,

thirsting for his blood, with club in hand, were only waiting for the signal of the king to give the fatal blow ; but at the feet of that king is a beloved daughter pleading with affectionate earnestness for him to spare the white man. The life of the prisoner is suspended upon the intercessions of that child. Is she successful ? Does the heart of her father relent ? Does he look down upon her and smile ? Does he yield to the affectionate pleading of his favorite daughter, and command the prisoner's release ? Alas ! no. Her haughty father refuses her request, and orders the execution to proceed. The prisoner's position is adjusted to receive the murderous blow ; the club is raised ; in a moment more, the fatal deed will be over. And now that child, failing in her prayers, leaves her father's feet, rushes through the executioners, seizes the head of the captive in her arms, and lays her own upon it, so that he cannot be smitten, without she is first slain. The youthful intercessor becomes the protector, and interposes her own person between the captive and death. This exhibition of interest, so unlooked for and so unusual, awakened great surprise amongst the tawny sons of the forest. The eyes of the executioners gleamed with anger at this untimely interruption. • The spectators would gladly have torn her away, for they delighted in scenes of blood, and were unwilling to be disap-

pointed on this occasion. But they must wait the orders of their chief, who, by this fresh exhibition of compassion on the part of his daughter, was overcome; his heart was softened, and he concluded to spare the prisoner, and keep him to make hatchets for himself, and bells, beads, and copper ornaments for his daughter.

This deeply-interesting incident has been honored by the muse in the following spirited and graphic lines of General George P. Morris, which, in addition to their other commendable qualities, contain a beautiful tribute to the disinterested kindness of woman.

#### THE CHIEFTAIN'S DAUGHTER.

Upon the barren sand  
A single captive stood;  
Around him came, with bow and brand,  
The red men of the wood.  
Like him of old, his doom he hears,  
Rockbound on ocean's rim;  
The chieftain's daughter knelt in tears,  
And breathed a prayer for him.

Above his head in air  
The savage war club swung;  
The frantic girl, in wild despair,  
Her arms about him flung.  
Then shook the warriors of the shade,  
Like leaves on aspen limb,  
Subdued by that heroic maid  
Who breathed a prayer for him.

"Unbind him!" gasped the chief;

"Obey your king's decree!"

He kissed away her tears of grief,

And set the captive free.

'Tis ever thus, when, in life's storm,

Hope's star to man grows dim,

An angel kneels in woman's form,

And breathes a prayer for him.

The last sentiment in these lines, expressive of woman's kindness in man's extremity, had received frequent illustrations in the eventful history of Smith, of which he makes honorable mention in the dedication of his "Generall Historie of Virginia" to Lady Frances, Duchess of Richmond. After apologizing for the want of literary excellence in the composition of his book, he adds, "Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous ladies, and comparable but amongst themselves, have offered me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers; even in foreign parts, I have felt relief from that sex. The beauteous lady Tragabigzanda, when I was a slave to the Turks, did all she could to secure me. When I overcame the Bashaw of Nalbrits, in Tartaria, the charitable lady Callamata supplied my necessities. In the utmost of many extremities, that blessed Pocahontas, the great king's daughter of Virginia, oft saved my life. When I escaped the cruelty of pirates and most furious storms, a long time alone in a

small boat at sea, and driven ashore in France, the good lady Madame Chanoyes bountifully assisted me." He then appeals to the duchess for a continuance of the same pleasant experience, by saying to her, with reference to his faults of style, "My imperfections have no help but the shrine of your glorious name to be sheltered from censorious condemnation. Vouchsafe some glimpse of your honorable aspect, to accept these my labors, to protect them under the shadow of your excellent name."

Pocahontas was not the only one of the high-minded family of Powhatan who manifested an interest in the welfare of Smith. A son of the king, named Nantaquaus, brother to Pocahontas, sympathized with her, and espoused the cause of the prisoner with much warmth. He was a youth of commanding personal appearance, and of great courage. It was a most favorable providence for Smith that these two children of the renowned chief became so deeply interested in his fortunes.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Smith released. — His Suspicions. — The Cannon and the Grindstone. — Powder frightens. — Plot arrested. — The President imprisoned. — Pocahontas again. — Her timely Supplies. — Smith regarded with Reverence. — His Prediction fulfilled. — Ceremonial Visit. — Newport frightened. — Powhatan's State. — Smith visits him fearlessly. — His Reception. — Newport gathers Courage. — Royal Shrewdness. — Newport cheated. — Smith's Indignation. — His successful Cunning. — The Biter bitten.

Two days after Smith's remarkable deliverance, through the courageous interference of young Pocahontas, he was removed by the order of Powhatan to a large house that was situated some distance in the woods. A fire was kindled, a mat spread for him, and he was there left alone.

Whilst Smith was there reflecting upon his condition, and contriving by what means he might get back to Jamestown, there fell upon his ear "the most dolefullest noise he ever heard." It appeared to proceed from behind a mat which divided the house. But by whom it was made, or what it portended, he knew not. Presently Powhatan entered, arrayed and painted in such hideous fashion as more nearly to resemble some evil spirit than a human being. He was accompanied by two hundred others equally repulsive in appearance. Smith's anxiety at this unexpected visit, if he had any, was soon

relieved by Powhatan drawing up to him and kindly saying, "We are now friends, and you must go to Jamestown and send me two great guns and a grindstone, for which I will give you the country of Capahowsick, and ever hereafter will esteem you as my son Nantaquaus." This communication would have been very agreeable to Smith if he had placed confidence in it. But as it was, he listened to it with great doubt. It seemed too good to be true. On the next day, however, evidence was furnished of Powhatan's good intentions, by his deputing twelve men to guide Captain Smith to Jamestown. Smith, however, was still doubtful. Whilst on the journey, he expected every hour to be put to death one way or the other. That night they encamped in the woods, and the next morning they arrived at Jamestown.

In compliance with the wishes of Powhatan, Smith showed the savages two demi-culverins, (cannon which would throw a nine-pound ball,) and a millstone, and told them those were the articles which they were to carry to their chief. They made an effort to lift them; but finding it impossible, they were obliged to abandon the intention of taking them home. To make a salutary impression upon their fears, arising from the power of these weapons, Smith had them loaded with powder and stones. He then pointed them at a great tree, which was covered with icicles, and fired them. When the

Indians heard their loud report, and saw the boughs of the tree and the icicles falling abundantly to the ground, they ran off at their swiftest speed, half dead with fright. After considerable effort, Smith succeeded in allaying the fears of his guides; and as they could not carry the things Powhatan had specified, he gave them a quantity of other articles to take as presents to him, and also a variety of toys for themselves, with which they were well satisfied. They then returned home.

Smith had been absent from Jamestown seven weeks. When he returned, he found every thing in confusion. No one amongst the colonists possessed sufficient influence to maintain order. Dissensions and quarrels were rife. To such a degree had the malcontents proceeded, that a plot had been arranged for an escape from Jamestown in the pinnace. When information of this was communicated to Smith, he immediately determined to prevent it. Accordingly he brought the guns to bear upon the vessel, and then with great firmness warned them that if they attempted to sail he would sink them. Although this decision and courage on the part of Smith defeated the project, yet so indignant were the rebels, that, in revenge, they accused him of the murder of the two men who were slain by the Indians whilst they were watching the canoe, and resolved to seize him and put him to death, according



to the Levitical law. But Smith was not a man to be taken in such a net. Instead of allowing himself to be seized, he at once seized his accusers, one of whom was President Ratcliffe, and confined them till an opportunity was furnished for sending some of them to England.

One day a young Indian girl came into the settlement, who seemed to be a person of considerable distinction, as she was accompanied by a train of attendants, who obsequiously obeyed her commands, and had in their hands various articles of food, which they disposed of according to her directions. None of the colonists knew her; no one could speak with her until she was brought to Smith. So soon as he saw her, he extended to her his hand, received her with great cordiality, and appeared as delighted as if she had been his only daughter. It was his young deliverer, Pocahontas. She had come with a retinue, bringing provisions to supply the wants of the colonists. Nothing could have been more acceptable, for they were reduced to great straits. Every four or five days this youthful princess encountered the severity of the cold, and the disagreeableness of a winter's journey through the forests, and over hill and river, with her retinue, to furnish the colony with supplies, by which means "she saved many of their lives, that else for all this would have starved with hunger."

Several of the other natives were also in the habit of visiting the colony and bringing food ; some, they said, were presents for Captain Smith from Powhatan and Pocahontas. These were always received as donations. But on the rest the English fixed a price, and paid for them.

It seems that Smith's deportment during his captivity had made such an impression upon the savages, that they now regarded him as some very exalted and powerful personage, — a kind of demigod, — and were ready to obey his slightest wish. They knew that he was the worshipper of the God who created all things, and in speaking of the divine Being they called him the " God of Captain Smith."

A circumstance which greatly increased their reverence for Smith was the fulfilment of one of his predictions. He had told the Indians that before long a great vessel would be seen, with large white sails, bringing his father to him. And as, about the time he specified, a vessel did arrive from England under the command of Captain Newport, whom Smith styled his father, the Indians believed he possessed the power of foretelling future events, and revered him accordingly.

This arrival produced an unfavorable effect upon the traffic between the English and the Indians. It had been Smith's policy to hold his articles at a high price, so that the natives might not purchase them

too easily, nor obtain too many of them. He knew that if they began to undervalue them, or if the demand for them was destroyed, it would be difficult for him to purchase food with them. He therefore parted with them at a high rate. But after Newport's arrival, another policy prevailed. As the president and council were jealous of the influence of Smith among the natives, to lessen it they gave them four times as much for their commodities as Smith had appointed. Besides this, they allowed the sailors, who had come over in the ship, to trade with the Indians on their own account, and to make such bargains as they pleased. The consequence was, the market was soon glutted with English trinkets; and a pound of copper, or of glass beads, would not procure as much as an ounce had previously. The finishing blow was given to the trade by Captain Newport's profuse presents to King Powhatan. These donations gave Powhatan exalted ideas of Newport, and made him very anxious to have an interview with him.

In a few days arrangements were made for Newport to visit him. It was a great occasion, both at Jamestown and in the village of Werowocomoco.

It was understood, both among the English and the Indians, that this was to be an important ceremonial visit of the most distinguished white man in America to the most powerful native king, and

therefore both people entered into it with becoming enthusiasm. To make a suitable impression upon the savage monarch of the forest, as well as to insure his own safety, Newport was accompanied with a body guard of thirty or forty picked men. He was also attended by Captain Smith and Mr. Matthew Scrivener, a gentleman of intelligence and discretion, who had recently arrived in the settlement. There was great excitement at Jamestown as the little bark pushed off on her voyage to the Indian king. There was as much at Powhatan's village upon her arrival there. When Captain Newport saw the great number of Indians, with their grim visages, their painted bodies, and their bows and arrows, who had assembled to welcome them, not being accustomed to such scenes, he became alarmed, and hesitated to go ashore for fear of treachery, imprisonment, and death. Smith, therefore, to whose breast fear was a stranger, volunteered to land himself, and, with a company of twenty men, to brave all dangers, and call on Powhatan. Leaving the vessel, he was escorted to the village by two or three hundreds of savages. "Powhatan strained himself upon this occasion to the utmost of his greatness to entertain them, with great shouts of joy, orations, and protestations, and with the most sumptuous and plentiful banquet he could provide. He sat on a bed of mats, with a pillow of leather, embroidered with pearl and

white beads, and was clothed in a robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle. At his head and feet sat a handsome young woman, and on each side the house twenty of his concubines, with their heads and shoulders painted red, and a great chain of white beads about each of their necks. Before them sat his chief men, in the like order; and above forty platters of fine bread stood in two files on each side of the door; four or five hundred people attended as a guard; and proclamation was made that none, upon pain of death, should presume to do the English any wrong or discourtesy."

The day was spent by Smith in renewing his acquaintance with those whom he had seen before, in feasting, and in witnessing a variety of Indian sports, which were performed for his amusement. He and his guard spent the night among the natives.

By the next day, Newport had gathered sufficient courage to venture on shore. He was received in great state by Powhatan, who extended to him all the courtesies belonging to Indian etiquette. Several days were spent in feasting and amusements; these latter consisting of feats of strength and agility, and especially of various dances, in which there was an abundance of strange antics and uncouth gesticulations with heads, hands, and feet. After this the entered upon the sober business of trade.

Although in civilization Powhatan was far behind

Captain Newport, yet for cunning shrewdness in driving a bargain he proved himself his superior. He pretended to scorn the little retail trade which was being carried on between the English and his own followers. He therefore told Newport, through Captain Smith as interpreter, that as Newport was a great chief as well as himself, it was undignified for such distinguished persons as they two were to be engaged in petty peddling for mere trifles, and therefore, if Newport would bring out and lay down in a pile together all the commodities which he had brought, he would select from them what he liked, and then pay him what he believed they were worth. Thus the wily chief wanted to buy, *at his own price*, any of the articles which the English had. Smith, who knew Powhatan's character better than any other Englishman, told Newport that the only object of the chief was to cheat him. But Newport paid no heed to this remark, and thinking that, by a display of unusual liberality on his part, he could probably obtain from Powhatan any thing that he wished, he consented to accept of the chief's proposal. Accordingly a large quantity of all kinds of English goods was displayed before the rejoicing eyes of Powhatan, who selected from them every thing that he wanted. But when he came to pay for them, he valued his corn at such high prices that he did not give four bushels for the articles which he had

chosen, when he ought to have paid twenty hogsheads! Captain Smith was indignant. And as his caution to Newport had been unheeded, and the matter had turned out as he had predicted, an alienation of feeling grew up between these two English officers.

Policy, however, prompted both of them to conceal their anger.

Smith was extremely reluctant to have the trade close so unfavorably for the English, and was determined to make another exchange, if possible, where the advantage on his side should be as great as that which the shrewd Indian had just gained. He therefore carelessly exposed to the chief several trifles to excite his cupidity. The quick eyes of Powhatan were fastened upon some blue beads; but when he expressed a wish for them, Smith pretended that they were so very rare and costly that he could not part with them, except at a great price. This increased Powhatan's desire to obtain them. He importuned a long time for them without success. The more anxious he was to obtain them, the more unwilling Smith pretended to be to part with them, telling him that they were composed of a very rare and costly substance, of the color of the skies, and not to be worn except by the greatest kings upon earth. Powhatan now became half crazy to possess these strange aristocratic jewels. After tantalizing him for a long

time, and exciting his covetousness to the highest degree, Smith finally consented to let him have a few, but only at an exorbitant price. So adroitly did he manage the whole matter, that for one or two pounds of these worthless beads, he obtained two or three hundred bushels of corn. The biter got bit. This was an equivalent for Powhatan's roguery. Yet they parted as friends, each probably feeling that he had the advantage of the other. • How much better open frankness and perfect honesty on both sides would have been, instead of all this duplicity !



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Value of blue Beads. — A Conflagration. — Mr. Hunt's Trials and Patience. — Gold Fever. — The Phoenix. — Turkeys and Swords. — Weapons stolen. — Smith's Decision. — Powhatan negotiates through Pocahontas. — She is successful. — Unreasonable Complaints. — Cedar against Gold. — Chesapeake Bay explored. — A noble Chief. — Places named. — Suffer for Water. — A Storm. — Limbo. — Shirt Sails. — Wild Men. — Strategem defeated. — Effects of Kindness. — Indian Merchants. — The Party discouraged. — Smith's Perseverance. — Treachery discovered. — Timely Supplies.

AFTER Newport and Smith had finished their ceremonial visit and trading at Werowocomoco, they went to Pamunkey, where they were received in the same manner, with feasting, dancing, and other sports. When the trading began, the blue beads were brought forward, and were sold at the same extravagant rates as to Powhatan. The result was, that they rose so high in the estimation of the Indians, that no one dared to wear them but the highest chiefs, or their wives and children.

After finishing their visits, the party returned again to Jamestown. Immediately after their arrival, the corn which they had obtained was carefully stowed in the storehouse. But by some accident, a conflagration broke out. The storehouse was burned. Several other houses, being covered

only with thatch, caught fire, and were also consumed. Eight or ten yards of their palisades were destroyed, with a considerable amount of arms, bedding, clothing, and private provision. Among the greatest sufferers was their good pastor, Rev. Mr. Hunt, who lost all his library and all his wardrobe, except the clothes he happened to have on. Yet was he never heard to murmur at his loss. As this happened in the winter of 1607, which was one of unusual severity, it must have subjected those who were burned out to great hardships.

After this, there was much suffering among the colonists, both from the scarcity of food, and the severity of the cold; so that more than half of their number died.

Notwithstanding this, a gold mania broke out. The "refiners, with their golden promises, made all men their slaves, in hope of recompenses. There was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold; such a bruit of gold, that one mad fellow desired to be buried in the sands, lest they should, by their art, make gold of his bones." Smith did not believe that the yellow shining dust, which had set the whole colony crazy, was gold; and nothing troubled him more than to see so much time and strength spent in loading such a "drunken ship with so much gilded dirt."

After quantities of this worthless sand had been

stored in the vessel, Newport returned home, taking with him Wingfield and Archer, that they might obtain some other employment in England.

After Newport had left, the *Phoenix*, Captain Nelson, arrived. Though Nelson departed from England in company with Newport, he had been driven by stress of weather into the West Indies, where he had passed the winter. He staid so long that he was given up for lost. His arrival, therefore, was a great relief to the colony, and the more so as he was able to supply them with provisions, which, added to what they had, were sufficient to last them six months.

Up to this time, it had been the policy of the English to withhold from the natives all English weapons. They had steadily refused to barter swords, guns, and powder for any thing which the Indians could bring. This was wise; and if the policy had been persevered in as a constant, settled practice, it would have been far better for the colonists; for in that case, they would always have maintained their superiority over the natives. Bows, arrows, and clubs could never have contended successfully with swords, guns, and powder.

Powhatan was extremely anxious to obtain some swords. To accomplish this object, he sent to Captain Newport, just before he left, twenty turkeys, with the request that he would send in return

twenty swords. Newport, in compliance with his wishes, unwisely sent the weapons. After Newport's departure, the cunning chief sent Captain Smith a quantity of the same fowls; but Smith was too shrewd to furnish, as he desired, more swords. This gave Powhatan offence, and he ordered his men to obtain weapons from the English by stratagem, force, or any other means. In obedience to this command, which was equivalent to a declaration of war, the Indians formed ambuscades around Jamestown, and whenever any of the colonists made their appearance, they would seize them, and take from them their weapons. They became insufferably troublesome, prowling around the town, seizing all who went abroad, and even attacking the men at their work, and stealing from them their guns. As the council in England had given strict orders to keep on good terms with the natives, President Ratcliffe was unwilling to adopt any retaliatory measures. Being probably emboldened by what appeared to be a want of courage on the part of the English, they had the insolence to come upon Captain Smith. He was not a man to receive an insult patiently, and therefore turned upon them with great show of severity. He chased them in various directions, and seized seven of them, whom he whipped and then imprisoned. In revenge they seized two Englishmen,

and then came in large numbers, and threatened to force Smith to deliver up his prisoners, or else they would put the whole colony to death. Nothing daunted by their murderous threat, Smith boldly sallied out against them, and in less than an hour, he brought them to such terms that they were glad to deliver up the two men whom they had taken, and make peace without saying any thing more about those whom Smith held captive.

Smith was determined to ascertain what he did not then know, and that was, under whose orders these fellows were acting. For this purpose, he closely examined his prisoners; and to inspire them with suitable terror, he ordered several volleys of musketry to be fired, and then told them that an Indian had been shot and killed because he would not confess under whose directions he acted, and what was the object aimed at. This produced the desired effect, and brought a confession from them all. In two things there was an agreement between all their statements: first, that Powhatan was the instigator, and secondly, that his object was to murder them with their own weapons.

Yet Powhatan, with the duplicity of a cunning hypocrite, sent apologies and presents to Jamestown, begging that they would excuse the unauthorized injuries which some of his hot-headed followers had inflicted upon the colony, and asking for the

deliverance of the prisoners, with professions of his love forever. To render the negotiation more successful, he sent his favorite daughter, Pocahontas, as the ambassadress to convey his message.

Smith was disposed neither to be in a hurry to comply with the deceitful Indian's request, nor to free the prisoners without some salutary punishment. He therefore gave them such correction as he deemed proper, and then detained them two days; after which he delivered them to Pocahontas, assuring them that it was only on her account that he released them at all.

The spirit and firmness with which Smith met the encroachments of the Indians did not meet the approval of his colleagues. They accused him of cruelty, although he had studiously avoided putting any to death. The ingratitude of these complaints was evinced by the fact, that, prior to this, they sometimes had "peace and war twice in a day," and scarcely a week passed by without some treacherous villany on the part of the natives; whereas, now, the mere name of Smith was a sufficient terror to awe them into good behavior.

As the time had now arrived for the Phoenix to return, it was a question which elicited considerable discussion, With what shall she be loaded? Martin, whose imagination was so fired with his fanciful discovery of a gold mine, was anxious that she

should be laden with his shining dirt ; but Smith, who had no confidence in its value, objected. He thought a cargo of cedar would be more profitable. His counsels prevailed. The vessel was laden with cedar, and departed. Martin, being so thoroughly inoculated with the gold mania as to be unserviceable to the colony, and desirous of enjoying the honor of discovering the gold mine, was willingly allowed to return in her to England.

At the time of the departure of the *Phoenix*, Captain Smith, in company with Dr. Russell and thirteen others, undertook to explore Chesapeake Bay in an open boat of between two and three tons' burden. They left Jamestown June 2, 1608, and kept in company with the *Phoenix* until they reached Cape Henry, when they parted with her.

Crossing the bay to the eastern shore, they fell in with some islands, called, after the captain, Smith's Isles. As they approached Cape Charles, they saw two stout, savage-looking Indians, armed with long poles like javelins, headed with bone — perhaps spears with which to take fish. They demanded of the English who they were, and what they wanted. After a little intercourse, they appeared friendly, and directed the explorers to Accomack, the residence of their chief, by whom they were kindly received. This *werowance*, as the chiefs were called, was the most noble-looking

Indian, and the most courteous in his manners, of any they had seen in the country. As he spoke the same language that Powhatan used, it was not difficult for Smith to hold conversation with him. "He told us," says the original narrative, "of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was two children being dead. Some extreme passions or dreaming visions, phantasies, or affection moved their parents again to revisit their dead carcasses, whose benumbed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such delightful countenances, as though they had regained their vital spirits. This, as a miracle, drew many to behold them, all which, being a great part of his people, not long after died, and but few escaped." Leaving this courteous yet afflicted chief, they continued their excursion, naming the highest land they saw on the main Keale's Hill, after one of the company; and certain uninhabited islands in the bay, Russell's Isles, after the doctor who was with them. These have since been called Tangier Islands. They now began to suffer for water, and went ashore to find some, but were unsuccessful. They soon entered the River Wighcocomoco, afterwards called Pokomoke. The northern point, at the mouth of this river, they named Watkins Point, after James Watkins, one of the soldiers who accompanied them. The natives on this river at first made some warlike demon-



strations ; but ere long, they changed their policy, and with songs, dances, and much mirth, became very tractable.

The men went ashore and searched the cabins of the Indians for water. They found only a small quantity, that was extremely dirty ; and before two days more had expired, so great were their sufferings from thirst, that they would have refused an equal quantity of gold for some of that puddle water. Seeing another high point of land, they went ashore, and saw, to their great joy, a pond of fresh water. No sight could have been more acceptable. But, alas ! when they attempted to slake their thirst with it, they found it so exceedingly hot that they could scarcely drink it. The place they named Point Plover, in honor of a house in Britain which on some former occasion had relieved their captain from certain troubles. In prosecuting their excursion, they were overtaken by a violent tempest. The wind blew like a hurricane ; the lightning flashed ; the thunder roared ; the waves rolled violently, throwing their white caps high in the air, and frequently leaping into the boats, filling it with water, so that, with the most laborious bailing, they could scarcely keep from sinking. To increase their consternation and peril, their mast and sail were carried away, and they were compelled to manage the vessel as best they could, with their

oars only. They pulled for certain islands that were near, which they fortunately reached without any additional mishap, yet in a very wretched plight. As the weather continued stormy and boisterous, they were here kept in limbo for two days, from which circumstance they gave the place the name of Limbo. These are now called Wats's Islands.

When the weather held up, they repaired their vessel as well as circumstances would allow. They experienced the greatest difficulty in providing her with a sail; but, as necessity is the mother of invention, this difficulty was soon removed by the party taking their shirts and sewing them together for that purpose.

Leaving Limbo, they crossed over again to a river called Cuscarawock. When the Indians saw them approaching, they appeared to be in great consternation. Some ran in troops from place to place, hallooing and yelling like so many demons. Some ascended to the tops of the trees, looking, as they were perched among the branches, like so many wild baboons; and all of them, by gestures and the use of their weapons, expressed the most violent passion.

Smith wisely anchored at a considerable distance from the shore, so that the showers of arrows which the natives sent towards him failed of reach

ing him. These useless warlike movements they kept up a considerable length of time, the English, in the mean while, making every sign of friendship in their power.

The next day, the Indians adopted a different policy. They resorted to stratagem. They came down to the shore unarmed, every one bringing a basket, as if for purposes of trade. They engaged in a dance, as though they desired to amuse their visitors. All their movements were apparently friendly ; but believing them to intend nothing but villany, the English discharged at them a volley of musketry loaded with small shot, which operated like magic ; for in an instant the whole army of Indians fell prostrate to the ground. Soon they commenced their escape, some creeping on all fours, and others drawing themselves along on their faces, in a manner which has significantly been termed "snaking it," until they reached a great cluster of reeds, in which they disappeared and lay in ambush. In the evening, Smith fired several shot into the reeds, and then landed. He saw many baskets, much blood, but no natives. Discovering some smoke on the opposite side of the river, he crossed over there, and found several cabins, in each of which was a fire, but no natives. They had fled. Smith left in these wigwams some copper, beads, bells, and looking glasses, and then,

rowing out into the bay, waited until night, when he returned. These little gifts of friendship produced a decidedly favorable effect; for the next morning, four Indians came to them in a canoe, who were treated with such courtesy, that after they left, they soon returned, bringing twenty more with them. As intercourse with these white strangers was found to result in no injury, they were in a little while surrounded with some two or three thousand men, women, and children, every one of whom presented them with something, for which a bead or toy was regarded as ample compensation.

So friendly were these Indians, that they contended among themselves for the privilege of bringing water to the English, staying with them as hostages, or being their guides.

On this river resided several distinct Indian tribes, amongst whom were the Nantaquacks, who devoted more attention to trade than the others. They were a tribe of Indian merchants. They made the finest robes, and large quantities of the best roanoke, or wampum, which passed amongst the Indians as money, and created as much contention and covetousness amongst them as gold and silver amongst more civilized nations.

Smith continued his explorations until his men, who at first were fearful that he would be in too much haste to return, were heartily tired of the

business. Their bread was wet and mouldy, and their arms so tired with pulling at the oars, that they made bitter complaints, and urged him to return. But he reminded them of the fortitude of Mr. Ralph Lane's company; how they determined not to return from their explorations, being willing to live upon broth made of dog's flesh and sassafras leaves. He further informed them that they had not accomplished the objects of the expedition; that he had shared with them all their inconvenience, and was willing to endure the worst part of what was to come; that it was not likely that any storms more severe than those which they had already experienced would occur, and that it would be full as dangerous to return as it would be to proceed upon their discoveries. Therefore said he with great firmness, "Regain your old spirits, for return I will not (if God please) till I have seen the Massawomeks, found Patowmak, or the head of this water you conceit to be endless."

A few days after this, three or four of the boat's crew became sick, who made such pitiful and earnest complaints to the captain, that he reluctantly consented to return. On the 16th of June, they reached the River Patowmak, (Potomac.) As by this time the invalids had recovered, and the whole party were revived in spirits, they consented to sail up this noble stream. For thirty miles, they

saw not a single native, though in all probability they were observed by the Indians, who concealed themselves to draw them into an ambuscade. At the end of this distance, they fell in with two natives, who conducted them up a little creek towards Onawmanient, where they found "the woods were laid with ambuscadoes to the number of three or four thousand savages, so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, shouting, yelling, and crying as so many spirits from hell could not have showed more terrible." They made many threatening bravadoes, but without in the least degree alarming Smith, who ordered some guns to be fired in such a manner that the Indians might see the balls skipping along upon the top of the water. This produced an immediate and most favorable change; for no sooner did the report of the guns reach the woods, than the Indians threw their bows and arrows to the ground, and proposed to the English that they should exchange hostages as guarantees for mutual good treatment during their negotiations. This was done, and one of the company, named James Watkins, went six miles through the woods to their chief. Smith learned that these Indians had been ordered by Powhatan to betray the English, and that Powhatan had been stimulated to this treachery by certain disaffected persons in Jamestown, whom Smith had prevented from returning to England.

During the progress of the excursion, several other companies of Indians pursued a similar course of conduct. In some places, however, they were treated with great kindness, especially at Moyaones, Nacotchtant, and Toags. When they had gone up as far as the stream would admit the boat, they met a number of savages coming down in canoes, well stocked with the flesh of bears, deer, and other animals, of whom our explorers obtained an abundant supply.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Another Mineral Fever. — Frying Pan and Fishes. — Accident. — Stingray. — Smith's Grave dug, but not used. — A disguised Boat. — Smith elected President. — Another Expedition. — A successful Artifice. — The Tockwoghs. — The acceptable Falsehood. — Great Joy. — A Visit from the Sasquesahanocks. — They worship Smith, and offer him a Chieftaincy. — Treachery of the Rappahanocks. — Todkill's narrow Escape. — A novel Expedient. — More Deception. — Indians whipped into Peace. — A Cluster of Evils.

AFTER Smith and his company had received the supply of fresh meat, as related in the close of the last chapter, they discovered a place where the rocks and ground had a highly metallic appearance. One spot appeared like sand mingled with yellow spangles, "as if it had been half pin dust." On their return, one of the chiefs gave them a guide to conduct them to a mineral mountain. The hostages that they took with them wore the chains which they were to receive from the English as presents, and were proud to be thus adorned.

The mine proved to be a rocky mountain, like antimony, or pot lead. It was soft, so as to be easy of excavation. The Indians dig out the ore, wash it in a brook of clear running water in the neighborhood, and then put it up in small bags to sell all over the country. They use it to paint their faces,



bodies, and their idols, which makes them look "like blackamoors dusted over with silver." Smith collected as much of this mineral as the boat would carry, because Captain Newport, to whom some had been given, had assured him that he had assayed it, and found it to contain one half silver. He was doomed, however, to a disappointment; all he collected proved to be worthless. It contained plenty of dirt, but no silver.

In some places which they passed through, fish were in such abundance that they filled the water. As the boat drove amongst them, it seemed as if they could be scooped up with a dipper, or a pail. Having nothing better for the purpose, Smith seized a frying pan, and attempted to catch some with that. But they were too alert for him. After speaking of their great abundance and good quality, he coolly adds, "but they are not to be caught with frying pans."

In another place they found large numbers of fish of different kinds, which had been left by the ebb tide among the shallow water of the rushes. As the boat was aground, Smith amused himself by spearing them with his sword. His example was contagious. Soon the whole company were employed in a similar manner. They found a sword a much better instrument for taking them than a frying pan. Whilst amusing themselves with this

kind of sport, a painful incident occurred, which came near proving fatal.

Captain Smith pierced a fish of a very singular shape, the extremity of whose body terminated in a long, narrow tail, resembling a riding whip, which was tipped with a venomous sting, two or three inches in length, and toothed on each side like a saw. Not knowing the nature, nor the habits, of the creature, Captain Smith attempted to remove it from his sword with his hands, in the same way he had the others, when it suddenly struck his wrist with its sting. No blood was drawn; no wound was seen, except a red or blue spot; yet the poison took immediate effect, for instantly he experienced extreme pain. His hand began to swell, then his arm, and then his shoulder, until, after four hours of intense suffering, he was considered beyond recovery, and the company commenced with great sorrow to make arrangements for his funeral. They even proceeded so far as to dig his grave on an island near by, according to his directions. But by the intervention of a kind Providence, they had no occasion to use it. Dr. Russell probed the wound, and then applied an oil, which produced such favorable effects that before night the pain was subdued, the swelling relieved, and the patient so far restored, that he ate of the fish for his supper, to the great joy of all the party. The island, near which this occurred, they called Stingray Isle, after the fish.

When they entered James River on their way home, they disguised their boat with painted streamers and other devices in such a manner that she was taken for a Spanish frigate, and created great consternation in Jamestown, until the freak was discovered. They arrived there July 21.

Smith found the affairs of the colony in a bad condition. The men who came from England by the last arrival were nearly all sick. The president, Ratcliffe, had been guilty of great extravagance, in squandering, for his own use, the property of the colony, and taxing those who could work with the unnecessary task of building him a pleasure house in the woods. So unpopular had he become, that nothing would appease the excitement of the colonists but his being deposed, and Smith elected in his place; which was accordingly done.

On the 24th of July, Captain Smith, after appointing Mr. Scrivener president in his place during his absence, set out on another expedition, to finish the examination of Chesapeake Bay. Their first adventure consisted in their meeting, on the second or third day, with six or seven canoes filled with Indians, who belonged to the powerful tribes of the Massawomecs, who are supposed to have been a part of the Iroquois, or Six Nations. Smith's company consisted of twelve besides himself. But seven of these were sick, so that there were only five fit

for service. Smith therefore resorted to stratagem. Covering up the sick under a tarpaulin, he took their hats, fixed them on poles, and placed them by the side of the barge between the men, so as to make the number of the company appear double what it was. To render the deception perfect, he gave to each of the men who were visible two guns, so that it might appear as if each hat were a man furnished with a musket. The trick was successful. The Indians, who at first bore down upon the English as if they intended to attack them, checked their canoes, changed their course, and in a few moments fled from them with the greatest speed to the shore. They there carefully watched the barge, which had been following them, until she came to anchor. So suspicious were they that these visitors meditated some evil design against them, that it was a long time before any of them would venture to approach the barge, although the English made every friendly demonstration in their power. Finally, two of their number went off, unarmed, to open negotiations with the whites. They were followed at a distance by many of the others, who were ready to render assistance in case the two messengers should receive ill treatment. For this precaution there was, however, no necessity. Smith's designs were peaceful and commercial; he therefore exhibited the greatest friendliness to these two pioneers, and gave them

each a bell. As soon as the others saw this exhibition of kindness, they came around the barge in great numbers, bringing deer and bears' flesh, fish, bows, arrows, clubs, targets, and skins, which they presented to the English, expecting, no doubt, something in return. They signified, by gestures, that they were at war with the Tockwoghs, and showed wounds upon their persons, which they said they had received in their conflicts with them.

Leaving the Massawomeks, Smith pursued his voyage, and came next upon the Tockwoghs, with whom they were at war. As he entered the River Tockwogh, the savages came round him in great numbers, all armed and prepared for battle. One of them could speak in the language of Powhatan; and when he saw the weapons of the Massawomeks, which Smith and his company had, he was anxious to learn how they were obtained. Smith, knowing well that the falsehood would please them, and would secure their protection, told them that he had had a conflict with the Massawomeks, and these were the trophies of his victory. When this was communicated to the savages, they sent up such a shout of triumph as rent the air like the hideous yells of so many demons. Not satisfied with this, they next conducted their visitors to their town, which was strongly protected by palisades, covered with bark, with scaffold-like projections on the inside, screened

by a breastwork, from which they could safely send their arrows at their enemies. Mats were spread for them to sit on, and then wild songs were sung, and grotesque but characteristic dances were performed, with all the accompaniments of drums, grimmaces, contortions, and horrid noises. After this they brought fruit, peltries, and other articles of their rude manufacture, with which they made presents, or engaged in barter with the English.

The voyagers were not a little surprised to see among these people pieces of iron, brass, hatchets, and knives of European manufacture. As these had not come from Jamestown, Smith inquired where they obtained them. They replied, from the Sasquesahanocks. These were a tribe of natives inhabiting the upper part of the bay, who were represented as being very large, strong, and brave.

Smith persuaded a couple of Indians to go to these Sasquesahanocks, and carry to them an invitation to come and see him, as his boat could not get up to them, in consequence of the rocks in the river. After waiting three or four days, fifty or sixty of them came down, bringing venison, baskets, weapons, and tobacco pipes, three or four feet long. Five chiefs were in this company, who, leaving their men behind them, came boldly into the barge to cross the bay, the wind being so high as to make it dangerous for their canoes.

It was the custom of the English, on this expedition, to observe devotional services daily. They usually had a prayer, with a psalm. This occasioned considerable astonishment among these Indians.

After the Sasquesahanocks had witnessed the religious exercises of the party, they held a consultation amongst themselves, as if to make arrangements for some ceremony. Their plans being completed, they commenced the execution of them. With passionate gesticulations towards the sun, they began singing in a boisterous and excited manner; at the same time advancing towards Captain Smith, they adored him as though they regarded him a Deity. He remonstrated with them, and endeavored to prevent the continuance of the ceremony, but without success. They persevered until their song was finished. They then delivered an address in loud tones with violent gestures, in which they made professions of great love; after which they arrayed Smith in an ornamented robe of bear's skin, and a great chain of white beads, weighing some eight pounds. Others brought beautiful mantles made of different skins sewed together, and various other articles of their own manufacture, and laid them at his feet as presents.

After which, they ceremoniously stroked him about the head and neck with their hands, and earnestly desired him to become their chief and protector,

promising him every thing in their possession if he would espouse their quarrels, and fight for them against the Massawomeks.

Leaving this people, who professed great sorrow for their departure, the English had their next adventure with the Rappahanocks, on a river of that name. As was their usual custom, they first exchanged a man with them as a hostage for good treatment. The name of the Englishman thus exchanged was Todkill. After he had landed, he discovered a company of Indians lying in ambush, and cried out to his comrades in the boat that they were betrayed. At the same instant, the Indian hostage, who was in the boat, leaped overboard to make his escape; but the man under whose special charge he was, shot at and killed him in the water. The whole party then attacked the Indians on the shore, who fled, not, however, without discharging volleys of arrows. Todkill had a narrow escape. He was stained with the blood of those who had held him, and who had been wounded by the English guns; but he made good his retreat to the boat. The targets which had been given to Smith by the Massawomeks now answered a valuable purpose; for he erected them in the bow of the boat, so that they furnished a complete protection from the arrows of the enemy, behind which his men could, with perfect safety, discharge their muskets.



The next day they had an opportunity of witnessing a novel stratagem of the Indians. As they were passing up the river, they noticed that arrows would occasionally strike against the targets which had been erected along the sides of the boat, and fall into the water; but as no Indians were visible, they knew not whence they came. They noticed that amongst the sedge which lined the shore of the river were some straggling bushes, but they could see no one amongst them. Presently an Indian whom they had on board, cried out, "The Rappahanoeks," and fell flat on his face. They then discovered that what they took for bushes growing in the water, were nothing but branches ingeniously carried by the Indians as a screen. They let fly a volley of musketry, when, as if by magic, the bushes disappeared, and a company of dusky forms were seen retreating to the land. So soon as the cunning savages gained the shore, as they were out of the reach of musket shot, they commenced singing and capering very merrily.

They also experienced the treachery of the Chesapeake and Nansamunds. Being decoyed up a narrow river, they were followed by seven or eight canoes full of men. Presently, from both sides of the river, arrows came pouring into them as rapidly as two or three hundred men could shoot them. Then those in the canoes engaged in the attack.

The English opened upon them their fire-arms, which soon scattered them. They then seized their canoes, and commenced destroying them. When the Indians discovered their object, they became anxious to make peace. The loss of their canoes they would not easily get over. By signs they signified their wish for a parley. Smith told them that if they would bring their king's bows and arrows, with a chain of pearl, and furnish also four hundred baskets of corn, he would enter into a treaty of peace with them ; but if they refused, he would break all their boats, burn their houses, and destroy all their grain.

They consented to the severe terms ; and Smith returned to Jamestown, taking with him as much corn as the boat would carry.

He arrived there September 7, 1608, and found things, as they usually were during his absence, in a bad condition. The late president was in prison for mutiny, the provision in store much injured by the weather and vermin, some of the colonists sick, and many dead.

## CHAPTER XX.

Smith installed Governor. — Newport returns. — Smith outvoted. — Pocahontas. — Her Amusements for Smith. — Powhatan's Haughtiness. — Inappropriate Presents. — A Coronation not understood. — Stingy Reciprocity. — The Manakins found. — Their Exclusiveness. — Seeking Merchandise. — Novel Employment. — A queer Cure for Profanity. — Selfishness fatal to the general Good. — Newport dissatisfied. — Is glad to return to England. — Probably misrepresents the Colony.

**DURING** his absence on the expedition which was described in the last chapter, Captain Smith explored the whole of Chesapeake Bay, with its smaller bays and inlets. He was gone nearly three months, and sailed, according to his own computation, three thousand miles. He made a map of the bay and adjoining country, which, though it added to the geographical knowledge then possessed, is now valuable only as an object of curiosity.

After his return to Jamestown, Smith, by the election of the council and the choice of all the colonists, accepted the appointment of governor, and was formally installed in office.

He now set himself to work with his accustomed activity. The church and the storehouse were repaired; buildings were arranged for the reception of supplies, which were expected; the fort was reduced to a pentagon shape; an order of sentinels

established, and the soldiers drilled. When the soldiers were firing at a mark, large crowds of Indians would sometimes gather around and look on with amazement to see the execution of their bullets upon the trees.

Another expedition was fitted out to trade with the Indians. It was under the command of Lieutenant Percy ; but after they had reached the bay, they met a vessel, which proved to be from England, bringing Captain Newport and a company of fresh supplies. Percy returned with these to Jamestown.

Captain Newport had received private instructions, from the council in England, not to return without bringing a lump of gold, or discovering the South Sea, or one of the lost colonies of Sir Walter Raleigh. He also brought over some expensive gifts for Powhatan. He was also empowered to act in certain cases independently of the local council.

So soon as Newport disclosed his instructions, Smith was both mortified and perplexed. Instead of attempting these wild projects, he knew that the time (it being now about harvest) ought to be spent in vigorous efforts for procuring food, on which the colony might subsist, and that if this were not done, there would be much suffering before many months. He therefore in the council urged his views. But Newport and those who

sympathized with him overruled and outvoted him, and he even had the impudence to intimate that Smith was deterred from acting with him from fear of the Indians. This was touching the governor in a tender spot. He could not suffer his courage to be called in question ; and, therefore, although he regarded the policy of Newport as extremely injudicious, yet, as it had received the approval of the council, he yielded his own views, and consented to assist in its execution. He even offered to go himself to the residence of Powhatan, and invite him to come to Jamestown to meet Captain Newport and receive his presents.

With only four companions, he set out to find the Indian king. When he reached Werowocomoco, he crossed the River Pamaunkee, and there learned that Powhatan was thirty miles off. Smith had the pleasure of finding there his young and amiable deliverer, Pocahontas.

Whilst messengers were gone after Powhatan, Captain Smith and his companions were entertained by Pocahontas in the following strange, yet characteristic manner : Whilst the five Englishmen were sitting by a fire in an open, cleared field, they were startled by hideous yells and screeches which broke upon them from the surrounding woods, and supposing that Powhatan with his band of Indians had surprised them, and were about to kill or capture

them, they immediately sprang to their feet, and seized two or three old men who were at hand, either to use them as shields for their protection, as Smith had done on a former occasion, or with the hope that in some way, through their instrumentality, he might secure a friendly reception from Powhatan.

Pocahontas saw their fears, and immediately made her appearance, assuring them that no harm was intended, and offering to deliver herself up to them to be killed, in case any injury were done them. Then a crowd of others, composed of men, women, and children, testified to the same thing. When they saw that the fears of the English were allayed, the sport proceeded in the following manner: Thirty young Indian damsels came out of the woods naked, with the exception of an apron of green leaves around them, with their bodies all painted, some of one color and some of another, but no two alike. The squaw who was at the head of this singular procession had upon her head a pair of buck's horns; at her girdle an otter's skin; on her arm another; on her back hung a quiver full of arrows, and in her hand she carried a bow and arrow. The next had a sword, another a heavy club, another a pot stick; and all carried something, with the addition of a pair of horns upon their heads. "These fiends," says the origi-

nal account, "with most hellish shouts and cries, rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernal passions, and solemnly again to sing and dance. Having spent near an hour in this mascarado, as they entered, in like manner they departed.

"Having reaccommodated themselves, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these nymphs more tormented him than ever with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me? Love you not me?' This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the savage dainties they could devise, some attending, others singing and dancing about them; which mirth being ended, with firebrands instead of torches, they conducted him to his lodging.

"Thus did they show their feats of arms,  
And others art in dancing;  
Some other used their oaten pipe,  
And others voices chanting."

The next day, Powhatan returned, when Smith informed him that Captain Newport had arrived from England, and had brought with him many valuable presents, which he requested Powhatan to come to Jamestown and receive, and also to make arrangements to revenge themselves upon the Man-


skins. In addition to this message, he returned to Powhatan an Indian whom Newport had taken to England and brought safely back.

The haughty and cunning Indian chief replied, that if the King of England had sent him any presents, as he was a king also, and that was his land, they ought to bring the presents to him, and not expect him to go to Jamestown after them. That was too foolish a bait to be taken. As for the Manakins, he could revenge his own wrongs upon them without the aid of the English. He would not, therefore, go to the colony.

Smith also inquired if he knew of any salt water beyond the mountains, as some of the Indians had reported. Powhatan replied that all that his men had told them about salt water beyond the mountains was false. He then drew a map upon the ground, and illustrated the nature of the country.

As Smith could not prevail upon him to go to Jamestown, he had to return without him, and carry his reply to Newport. Powhatan agreed to wait eight days for the presents to be brought to him.

In Newport's estimation, no time was to be lost. The next day, therefore, he sent the presents by water, whilst himself, escorted by a guard of fifty men, crossed over by land. The two parties met at Werowocomoco, where the proud chief was in waiting.





The ridiculous ceremony of an Indian coronation was now attempted by Newport. The presents to Powhatan were brought forth, consisting of a basin and pitcher, bed and furniture, a scarlet cloak, and crown. The bed and furniture were set up, and then the ceremony of coronation commenced. Powhatan seems to have been fearful that some treachery was intended. He was unwilling to wear the cloak. It was not until after much ado, and he had been assured by Namontack that no injury was intended, that he allowed them to place it upon his shoulders. They now requested him to kneel in order to have the crown placed upon his head. But he, not understanding the meaning of majesty, nor the significance of a crown, was no wise ambitious for the coronation. He therefore would not kneel, or pretended that he knew not what they meant. They then set him an example by kneeling before him. He refused, and tired them all out by perseveringly resisting all their entreaties, persuasions, and examples. Finally, by leaning heavily upon his shoulders, they made him bend a little, and then three of them, being ready, slipped the crown upon his head. A pistol was now fired as a signal to those in the boat that the royal ceremony was completed, when they fired such a volley as made the newly-crowned monarch spring to his feet in great consternation, as if he had been suddenly

attacked by an enemy. Being assured that all was right, he became calm. The whole scene must have been supremely ridiculous.

After this farce was over, Powhatan, as a return for the courtesy and the presents he had received, gave Captain Newport his *old shoes* and his *mantle*—a very poor return for the handsome donations of the English.

When Powhatan learned from the inquiries of Newport, that his design was to discover and visit the Manakins, he refused to give him any directions, or to furnish him with any other guide than Nansontack. After the exchange of a few more civilities, the chief gave Newport some seven or eight bushels of unshelled corn, to which was added as much more by purchase. He then returned, without accomplishing any thing of importance, to Jamestown.

Not to be baffled in his object, Newport set out again with a number of others to discover these Manakins, and was successful. He came across two of their villages, where he was treated with perfect indifference. Yet he took one of the subordinate chiefs, whom he bound and compelled to be his guide. He also examined the country for mines, and discovered some of which one William Callicut, a professional refiner of metals, told him contained a small quantity of silver; "and," says Smith, "(not unlikely) better stuff might be had

for the digging." The Indians extended no civilities whatever. They concealed their corn; they refused to trade; and to hasten the departure of the English from them, the natives told them that a fleet of vessels had entered the bay for the purpose of destroying Jamestown. This had the desired effect. The explorers turned their faces homeward, where they arrived half sick, all complaining, fatigued with toil, weakened by hunger, and chagrined with disappointment. The adventure terminated just as Captain Smith had predicted, without any valuable results.

Soon after their return, the president sent small parties in different directions to look for tar, pitch, glass, and soap ashes. A company of thirty he took with himself five miles down the river, to teach them how to fell trees, make clapboards, and lodge in the woods. Among them were two gentlemen — Gabriel Beadle and John Russel — unaccustomed to work, who at first engaged in the object with great zeal. To cut down large trees, and hear them fall like thunder to the earth, and to cook, eat, and sleep under the open canopy of heaven, was full of novelty, strangeness, and excitement to them. They enjoyed the sport finely, making the dim old woods echo to their jokes, their laughter, and their songs. It was not long before their delicate hands were blistered by the axe, when their

tune was changed, and they gave expression to their feelings in dreadful oaths and curses. Captain Smith, the president, devised a novel expedient to check their profanity, which was to have all their oaths numbered, and at night, to have a can of cold water poured down the transgressor's sleeve for every oath he had uttered through the day, "which so washed and drenched the offender, that in a short time, an oath was scarcely heard in a week."

Those who were left at the fort failing to obtain any provision, it became necessary for Smith to go upon an excursion for that purpose. Taking two barges, he pushed off to Chickahominy, where he soon learned that it was the policy of Powhatan to starve the English out by withholding food. He therefore told them that he had not come so much for corn, as to revenge himself upon them for his captivity, and for the death of the men they had murdered. He boldly landed his men, and made demonstrations as if he intended to attack them. This brought them to terms, and they immediately sent ambassadors, with corn, fish, fowl, and whatever else they had, to negotiate peace. They freighted the boats with over a hundred bushels of corn, and then parted on good terms.

It was unfortunate for the infant colony that the settlers, instead of seeking the general good, were intent upon promoting their own private interests.

Sailors, soldiers, and mechanics, had formed such intimate relations with the natives, that they traded together in the most intimate manner. Two evil results followed this course of procedure. In the first place, the public weal of the colony was uncared for; and in the second place, the merchandise of the colony disappeared with great rapidity. Every man became a trader on his own account; and what articles could not be obtained from the public stores by fair means, were abstracted in other ways; so that in the course of six or seven weeks, of two or three hundred axes, hoes, pickaxes, and other utensils, scarce twenty remained. They had been traded off to the Indians for furs, baskets, and young animals. Their stores of pike-heads, powder, and shot had disappeared in the same way.

The affairs of the colony being in an unsatisfactory condition, Captain Newport became dissatisfied. He therefore stated that his orders were not to return to England without a lump of gold, a discovery of the South Sea, or one of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost company. On this account, the president formed the determination to send away the vessel, and oblige Newport to remain in the country a year, that he might be able to report the state of things from his own prolonged experience and observation. To this arrangement Newport was most strongly opposed. It would have

been to him a severe punishment. Upon his submission and acknowledgment, therefore, he was permitted to return, where, it was believed, he made the worst possible report of the state of the colony.

## CHAPTER XXI.

**T**rials. — Powhatan's Invitation. — Smith visits him. — Keeps Christmas. — Powhatan's Deception. — A villanous Plot. — Pocahontas defeats it. — She declines Rewards. — Distressing Calamity. — A Messenger to Smith. — His Life sought. — Pocahontas conceals and saves him. — A supposed Miracle. — Mysterious Explosion. — Ratcliffe and others slain. — Pocahontas saves a Boy. — Unparalleled Sufferings. — Large Numbers die. — The Town abandoned. — Lord Delaware arrives. — The Settlers return. — A Sermon. — Lord Delaware's Promptness and Energy. — The Colony revived.

**AFTER** the departure of Captain Newport, the colonists passed through many trials. Not only were they afflicted by sickness, and the want of food, but also by the secret plotting of the Indians against them. They knew not whom to trust. Those who made the strongest professions of friendship cherished the most perfidious designs. There was, however, a most remarkable exception, in the case of the amiable and benevolent Pocahontas. She remained true to the interests of the English when her friends and relatives turned against them. We have already related her remarkable interposition in behalf of Captain Smith, by means of which he experienced a marvellous deliverance from death, when the hand of the executioner was raised for his destruction, and also her frequent visits and donations

of food to the colony, when, if it had not been for this kindness, they would have greatly suffered.

We shall now resume her history, and group together in the following pages the subsequent events of her life. Her father, King Powhatan, sent an invitation to Captain Smith to make him a visit, with a promise that he would fill his vessel with corn, on condition that he would send men to build him a house, present him a grindstone, fifty swords, some guns, and two fowls, with a large quantity of copper and beads. Although Smith suspected him of Indian duplicity, he yet availed himself of the opportunity, which this invitation presented, of seeing Powhatan, and obtaining from him a supply of food, which they greatly needed. He sent off before him two Englishmen and four Germans, by land, to erect the house which Powhatan had desired. This fact furnished evidence to Powhatan that his proposals were received in good faith, from which he might have inferred that the English would visit him entirely unsuspecting of his treacherous designs.

Smith took with him the bark and two barges, manned with those only who offered voluntarily to accompany him, leaving Mr. Scrivener as his substitute, to manage the affairs of the colony during his absence.

The party left Jamestown December 29, 1608: the same evening they reached Warrasqueake, the



chief of which endeavored to dissuade them from proceeding farther. Finding himself unsuccessful, he informed them that kind treatment awaited them at the hand of Powhatan, although his design in sending for them was to cut their throats.

The next night they reached Kicquotan, where they were detained by a severe storm of rain and snow six or seven days. They managed, however, to compensate for the inconveniences of the storm by their merriment and good cheer. Among these wild Indians they celebrated the festival of Christmas. Whilst the tempest was howling without, and the trees of the forest were falling before the blast, they were comfortably sheltered in the wigwams of the natives, where they were "never more merry in their lives, lodged by better fires, or fed with greater plenty of good bread, oysters, fish, flesh, and wild fowl."

When the storm abated, they proceeded on their voyage, and reached Werowocomoco, the residence of Powhatan, on the 12th of January. After great difficulty from the ice and frozen mud, they finally succeeded in landing, and then sent to Powhatan for food, who furnished them with bread, turkey, and venison, and feasted them according to his usual custom; after which, the deceitful chief told them he had not sent for them, that he and his people were destitute of corn, and that he was anxious to have them be gone. Smith was not to be trifled

with in that manner; he therefore called the messengers, who had brought him the invitation, and confronted Powhatan with them. The chief tried to turn it off with a laugh; and to divert attention from his deception, he immediately asked for the articles with which they intended to barter. Nothing, however, suited him, except guns and swords. And whilst he wanted the most important commodities that Smith possessed, he, at the same time, held his grain at such a high rate as made it bad economy for the English to trade with him. He even had the effrontery to value a basket of corn higher than a basket of copper, saying, "he could rate his corn, but not the copper."

Much negotiation passed between the two parties. The English desired to preserve peace, and obtain stores by fair and friendly trade. Powhatan professed to be governed by a similar spirit, but was evidently laboring to circumvent his visitors and secure their destruction. Unfortunately for Smith, the Germans whom he had sent to build the chief's house, being enamoured of the abundance and the freedom of the Indians, took sides with the chief, and assisted in plotting the overthrow of the colonists.

After long debate, in which much skill was displayed on both sides, Smith succeeded in purchasing about a hundred and sixty bushels of corn for a

copper kettle : one half of the grain was paid at the time, and the other half was to be furnished next year. After this, Powhatan indulged in an ingenious harangue on the advantages of peace over war, and reproved Smith for not exhibiting more confidence in him, by leaving behind him his weapons, as himself had done. Smith knew that this was only an artifice to gain time and secure a favorable opportunity for cutting him and his party off. He therefore resolved to resort to similar measures for a similar purpose. Professing great friendliness, Smith obtained Indians to break the ice, so that his boats might come to land and receive the corn ; at the same time he ordered more men ashore to assist him in the execution of a plot he had formed to seize Powhatan. As the tide fell, he and his men were obliged to remain on land longer than they had previously intended to. Powhatan resolved to take advantage of the circumstance, and treacherously murder them before they could leave. The English were in great danger. The plot for their destruction would probably have been successful if it had not been for Pocahontas.

Her interest in the English was not abated. She desired their welfare, and was determined to promote it at all hazards. When she learned that her father had decreed the death of the English, she was anxious to learn the plan by which it was to be effected.

Her ears were open to catch every word. As she loitered, in apparent carelessness, among the wigwams, or sauntered around amongst the men, saying little but hearing all, she soon became acquainted with the whole scheme. In a few hours the dreadful deed would be consummated, and no traces of the English be left but the ground stained with their blood! She resolved to save them. To accomplish this no time was to be lost. The fatal hour was rapidly approaching. All would be over before the return of the tide. The cabins which Smith and his party occupied were at some distance from those of Powhatan. To secure his deliverance it was necessary that he should be informed of his danger. To accomplish this without detection required great courage and address. The young damsel was equal to the task. Under the cover of the darkness, the Indians were to go in friendly guise, with hospitable proffers of food, to the English, and then seize their opportunity to fall upon them unexpectedly, and destroy them. Yet under the protection of that same friendly darkness, the youthful Pocahontas slips from her father's wigwam, where great preparations are in progress for the execution of the conspiracy, and silently steals off alone to the cabin of the English. Fortunately she is not noticed by her own people. She arrives in safety, and informs Captain Smith that in a short time his enemies will

be upon him ; they will come with kindness on their lips, with presents in their hands, and with murder in their hearts.

“They will bring you good cheer ; but whilst you are eating it, they will fall upon and kill you. Or if they cannot do it then, the chief, my father, who will follow them with large numbers of men, will suddenly attack you and murder you at supper. If you want to escape you must leave at once.”

Smith was grateful to her for her information, and was disposed to reward her for her kindness.

Some might be inclined to the opinion that she was induced to manifest this interest in the English for the presents she would receive. As children generally are amused with toys, it might be supposed that a young Indian girl would be especially pleased by the very curious and wonderful articles which the English could give her, and for that reason might be induced to give them what she believed to be acceptable and valuable information, though at great risk to herself.

But the conduct of Pocahontas shows that this motive had no influence with her, for when Captain Smith offered her various interesting objects as a reward for her conduct, she positively and firmly declined receiving them. She told him, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, that she dared not accept them, for if her father knew that she had

them, he would immediately put her to death. Having accomplished her object, she ran hastily home, and slipped in among the conspirators, where she appeared as if nothing had happened, and escaped detection.

In less than an hour, eight or ten large, brave, muscular Indians came to the English, bringing with them platters of venison and other food, as friendly presents. As the English had their matches burning, ready to fire in case of an attack, the natives pretended that the smoke made them sick, and asked that they might be extinguished. This was declined. The intelligence which had been communicated by Pocahontas awakened suspicion in the mind of Smith that the food which they so cheerfully offered was poisoned. He therefore made them taste of every dish, and then sent by some of them a message to Powhatan, to hasten his coming, for the English were prepared to receive him. Presently other spies made their appearance, to see how matters were progressing. Each party was too suspicious and vigilant for the other to get any advantage. The Indians reconnoitred the English, noticed their constant preparedness for an attack, and hence deemed it the wiser course not to molest them. When the tide returned, Smith and his company departed, greatly indebted to Pocahontas for the information she had given, though at the risk of her own life, and by

means of which they had been delivered from the destruction which was prepared for them

Whilst Captain Smith was on this excursion to the Indians, an affecting calamity occurred at Jamestown. Mr. Scrivener, whom he had left in charge of affairs there, went with several others on a visit to Hog Island. Among the company were Captain Waldo, who had received strict orders not to leave Jamestown, but to remain there prepared to render aid to the president at a moment's warning, and Mr. Anthony Gosnold, brother to Bartholomew Gosnold, who discovered and named Cape Cod. There were eleven in all. They imprudently embarked in a frail skiff, which would have been unsuitable for the purpose in the mild season of summer, when the water was free from ice and unruffled by storms, but which rendered the enterprise especially hazardous at the present time. The weather was cold and boisterous. The skiff being too heavily loaded, and the waves rolling with unusual strength and magnitude, she swamped, and all on board perished! This sad catastrophe involved the colony in deep gloom. Smith being absent, and their principal men drowned, those who remained at Jamestown were at a loss what course to pursue.

It was proposed to send a messenger immediately to carry the mournful intelligence to the president. But who will go? It was known to be a dangerous

errand, requiring great courage, self-possession, and address, in order to pass safely through the Indians who would be met on the way, and find the president, and therefore all declined to undertake the perilous service, except Mr. Richard Wyffin. He set out alone, and proceeded amidst great difficulties to Werowocomoco, the residence of Powhatan. To his great regret he found that Smith had left before his arrival. Whilst here he noticed such extensive preparations for war as convinced him that Powhatan had some evil object in view. He soon had reason to believe that these preparations were intended to be used against the English, from the fact that his own life was sought. It was important that some one acquainted with that fact should give him information, and extend to him concealment. Who would do this? Certainly not one of Powhatan's warriors. They were too much interested in the success of the plot. Nothing would have given them greater pleasure than the seizure of this messenger. Their wives, doubtless, sympathized with them, or if any of them did not, they could hold no communication with this newly-arrived Englishman without detection, when their lives would be the forfeit. And yet, if the design of Powhatan be not revealed speedily, this visitor will be held as a captive, and, if policy requires, put to death.

At this critical period the youthful Pocahontas



appears again as the guardian angel of the white man, and by some ingenious device manages to communicate to him that a sword is suspended over his head. He must flee. But where ? His trail will be discovered ; he will be pursued, overtaken, and brought back. She undertakes to be his protector. She secretly conceals him until he can leave in some degree of safety, doubtless supplying him, in the mean time, with food to sustain life. So soon as a convenient opportunity presents itself, he cautiously leaves his concealment and departs. Soon the pursuers are after him, like bloodhounds after game. They come to where Pocahontas is, and ask if she knows the direction he has taken. . Yes, yes, the damsel knows, but she is too wise to inform them ; and, to save the pursued, she directs them in the opposite course to that which he has taken ; she puts them upon a false scent, and they start off ; the farther they go, the wider becomes the distance between them and the object of their pursuit. In this manner, through the instrumentality of Pocahontas, Wyffin successfully escaped, and after great hardships and embarrassments from the Indians whom he met, some of whom he had to heavily bribe, he succeeded in finding Smith at Pamunkey, where Opechancanough was plotting to murder him and all his company.

When the painful intelligence of the disaster at

Jamestown was communicated to Smith, he made the messenger swear that he would not reveal it to any of the men, as he knew that the effect would be to greatly dishearten them, and by consequence to unnerve and unfit them for the exigencies they were yet to meet.

Smith assumed a cheerful countenance, so that the men might not suspect that the newly-arrived messenger from home was the bearer of unwelcome tidings, and at night embarked on board his vessels and returned.

At this time Powhatan had determined to kill Captain Smith and overthrow the colony. He had gone so far as actually to threaten death upon his own men if they did not by some means murder him. All the Indians were therefore on the alert to be the executioners of the president. Wherever he went, he met vexatious embarrassments from the natives, the object of which was to bring about such circumstances as would favor his seizure. But Smith was too vigilant and sagacious for them.

Two events now occurred which produced a great change in the opinions and policy of the Indians respecting the English.

A pistol had been stolen by an Indian; and two brothers, also natives, who were known to be confederates with the thief, were seized. In order to regain the pistol, one of the brothers was imprisoned,

and the other was sent after the stolen article, with instructions to return with it in twelve hours, or his brother should be hanged. During his absence the president ordered a fire to be kindled in his cell, and supplied him with charcoal for fuel. As the ventilation of the place was bad, the foul air engendered by the burning charcoal overcame the Indian, and he fell senseless. When his brother returned, and the cell was opened, he was found lying upon the floor motionless and breathless. As he was badly burned, the probability is, that he fell in the fire. The brother, believing him to be dead, was deeply grieved, and mourned over him so lamentably that the president, to comfort him, said that, if he would promise never again to steal, he would restore his brother to life. The afflicted man had little hope that it could be done. However, by the liberal use of vinegar and spirits the fainted Indian was revived. But as when first recovered, he appeared to be wild and crazy, his brother was as deeply grieved as before. Upon promise of good behavior, the president offered to remove that malady, and restore him to perfect health. To accomplish this, he caused him to lie down and take a nap, after which he was as well as ever, except the effects of his burns. These being dressed, and a piece of copper being given them, they went away well pleased; and it was soon currently reported among all the savages that

Captain Smith had power to raise the dead to life !

The other event, which to them was so marvellous, was this : One of Powhatan's Indians by some means got possession of a large bag of powder and the back of an armor. To show his great knowledge and skill in the use of this wonderful article, he spread the powder upon the back of the armor, and attempted to dry it over the fire, as he had seen the English at Jamestown do. A number of his companions gathered around, and looked over the armor to see his success. Unfortunately, the poor fellow did not know so much as he thought he did ; for he kept the armor over the fire till it got too hot, when the powder exploded, blew him to death, killed one or two more, and burned the rest so severely that they had no desire afterwards to meddle with this mysterious article. These two events, with others of a similar character, "so amazed and affrighted both Powhatan and his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace ; returning many stolen things which we never demanded nor thought of ; and after that, those that were taken stealing, both Powhatan and his people have sent them back to Jamestown to receive punishment ; and all the country became absolutely as free for us as for themselves."

It was not long, however, before the troubles of

the colony began to be renewed. Food again became so scarce, dissensions so violent, and the Indians so treacherous, that all comfort was destroyed. Their trials were increased by the departure of Captain Smith to England.

The Hon. George Percy, who was left president in his place, not understanding the Indian character, or being destitute of tact and courage in dealing with them, soon met with some severe disasters.

One of his officers, Captain Ratcliffe, with a small ship and thirty or forty men, visited Powhatan for purposes of trade. He appears to have been received in a courteous manner by the chief, who made fair professions, and by whose friendly appearance Ratcliffe was thrown off his guard, when he and thirty of his men were slain. Again Pocahontas presents herself as a messenger of mercy. Though her influence was too weak to prevent this effusion of blood, yet she succeeded in saving a boy, whose name was Henry Spilman, and who lived for many years by her means among the Potomacs.

On every occasion when she could be of any assistance, Pocahontas was ready to serve the English. If she could not aid them one way, she would another; and by these important services she proved herself their sincere and unchanging friend.

After the departure of Captain Smith, the colony passed through a period of almost unparalleled sufferings. At first, the live stock of the settlement was wastefully consumed by the prodigal officers, or stolen by the Indians, so that they were glad to purchase a little food from the natives in exchange for swords, firelocks, and other weapons; by which means the Indians became qualified to inflict upon them greater injury than ever. Starch, horseflesh, the skins of horses, yea, any thing, which, by being softened and cooked in any way, could be eaten, was converted into food. To such horrid straits were they driven; that some of them dug up the body of an Indian, who had been slain and buried, and feasted upon him! Others took the bodies of their friends who died, boiled and stewed them with roots and herbs to give them a flavor, and used them for food! It would seem as if human nature could not descend to any thing more revolting than this; yet there were lower depths, and our pen hesitates to record the repulsive and abominable fact that one man murdered his own wife, pulverized her, and had eaten a portion of her before his crime was discovered, for which he was subsequently executed. So extreme were the sufferings of the colony at this period, that for many years afterwards it was spoken of as "the starving time." Its immediate effects upon the settlement were peculiarly

disastrous. About five hundred persons whom Captain Smith left, at the time of his departure for England, were reduced, in the course of six months, to the small number of sixty ! Four hundred and forty persons died in half a year, chiefly from the want of food ! Those who survived were in a miserable condition — moving skeletons, living upon a scanty supply of acorns, nuts, berries, and occasionally a few fish. Without relief from abroad, they could not have survived ten days longer. They must all have died of starvation. A kind Providence so ordered it, that just at this time, when they were reduced to their lowest extremity, supplies arrived from England.

It is difficult to conceive the joy which the survivors of that perishing colony experienced, when, upon the 24th of May, 1610, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers made their appearance, bringing abundant supplies of food from home. It was a day of great gladness. It filled the hearts of the despairing with hope, and inspired the dying with new life.

When “these two noble knights” became acquainted with the state of the colony, they were painfully affected. As so large a proportion of the settlers had died, as the survivors were so weak, and as there was so little union and enterprise amongst them, it was considered the wiser course

to take them all back to England. Accordingly they all embarked for that purpose. Many of them were exceedingly anxious to have the town and fort which, though rude, had been erected at great labor and expense, burned to the ground. They earnestly entreated that this might be done. But Sir Thomas Gates refused to comply with their wishes. It would have been a useless and wicked destruction of property. The wisdom of Gates's policy was soon manifest; for, after sailing a short distance down the river, they met Lord Delaware, who had been appointed Captain General of Virginia, coming up with a fleet of three ships, laden with stores, farming utensils, weapons, and all kinds of necessaries. He caused them all to return to Jamestown. The good sense of Sir Thomas Gates in preventing the destruction of the town was now apparent, as it gave them all homes to go to; when, if their own unreasonable requests had been granted, they would have been houseless.

On the 10th of June, Lord Delaware landed at the settlement. After listening to a sermon, he read his commission, and immediately proceeded to business. He soon ascertained the true state of things, when, by cashiering some of the officers, appointing new ones, allotting to every man some particular kind of service, and giving them all an



address, in which was good advice blended with threats of punishment to the obstinate, he succeeded in establishing affairs upon a favorable footing, and infusing into the whole colony new vigor.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Pocahontas concealed. — Treacherous Japazaws. — His cunning Plot. — Pocahontas betrayed. — She becomes captive to Argall. — Copper Kettle. — Powhatan's Policy. — A Truce. — Pocahontas and her Brothers. — Messengers to Powhatan. — Are unsuccessful. — Pocahontas in Love. — She marries an Englishman. — Effects of her Marriage. — She is instructed in Religion. — Is converted. — Her different Names. — Stith's Testimony of her.

IT seems somewhat remarkable that, after Captain Smith's departure from Jamestown, in 1609, Pocahontas was not seen there again till 1611. It is conjectured that, being disgusted with the conduct of the English, she retired to the Potomac River, that she might not witness the murders which frequently occurred there. Their subsequent treatment of her evinces her discretion in putting a wide distance between herself and them, for the next chapter in her history was the experience of English treachery. The circumstances were as follows: In 1612, Captain Argall arrived at Jamestown from England. The stores which at that time were brought not being sufficient for the wants of the colony, he was sent to the Potomac to trade with the Indians there, as they were not quite so unfriendly to the English as were Powhatan and his followers. Upon his arrival there, Argall

soon formed an acquaintance with Japazaws, the chief of the Potomacs, who had formerly been on friendly terms with Captain Smith and the English, and who was willing to perpetuate that friendship through his acquaintance with the new captain.

At that time, Pocahontas, who was then seventeen or eighteen years of age, was living in concealment among the Potomacs, the place of her seclusion being known to only a few confidential friends. Argall became possessed of the fact, and immediately determined to make her, if possible, a prisoner, and use her as the means of effecting a treaty of peace with Powhatan. He accordingly proposed to give Japazaws a copper kettle if he would bring Pocahontas on board the vessel. To the eye of this ignorant savage, a copper kettle was invested with great attractions. It was a temptation too strong for resistance; and for this reward he agreed to betray a helpless young girl who had unsuspectingly committed herself to his protection. It may serve to extenuate somewhat the treachery of this Indian, that Captain Argall promised him that Pocahontas should receive nothing but good treatment; that his object was not to injure her, but simply retain her as a prisoner till he could negotiate a treaty of friendship with Powhatan, her father.

It now became a question of some difficulty,

How shall this treachery be executed without Pocahontas detecting it? She had no desire to see the English, and no curiosity to examine the vessel, having seen many before. Some other motive must be resorted to, some secret plan devised. Japazaws therefore made his wife feign great anxiety to see the inside of the ship, and told her she must frequently entreat him for permission to go on board. He, in the mean time, would refuse his consent, until her importunity should become so great that he would threaten to beat her if she did not desist. All this was to be communicated to Pocahontas, and after a while he would give his consent, provided Pocahontas would accompany her. In this manner, they planned to make the kindness of Pocahontas the means of her capture. The bait so cunningly prepared took with the unsuspecting, confiding girl. When she saw how great was the desire of the wife of Japazaws to visit the vessel, and that her husband would give his permission only on condition that she would accompany her, such was her obliging disposition that she at once consented to go.

Captain Argall received them with great courtesy, and gave them an entertainment in the cabin. When a convenient opportunity offered, the captain invited Pocahontas into the gun room, in order to conceal from her that Japazaws was any wise con-

cerned in her capture. After he had given the chief the promised kettle, he told them Pocahontas was his prisoner, and she must remain on board the vessel, go to Jamestown, and assist in bringing about friendly relations between Powhatan and the English. At this, the hypocritical Japazaws and wife began to howl and cry in the most distressed manner. They appeared to be more deeply overwhelmed with sorrow than Pocahontas, though she also wept freely; but by the explanations, promises, and persuasions of the captain, she was gradually pacified. In this deceitful manner, they blinded the eyes of the poor girl to the fact that she was betrayed by her own friends.

Japazaws and his wife, having received the copper kettle and a few other toys, went ashore satisfied, leaving the noble-minded Pocahontas a captive behind them. In this capacity she was taken back to Jamestown, which she had not visited since the departure of Captain Smith.

Intelligence was immediately sent to her father, that his daughter was held a captive by the English, and he must ransom her by returning the men, guns, and tools which he and his people had stolen from Jamestown. Powhatan was greatly perplexed by this communication. He knew not what to do. He loved his daughter, and would have rejoiced at her release; but, at the same time,

he strongly desired to retain the men and commodities which he had deceitfully obtained from the English. The consequence was, that he made no reply to the proposal of Captain Argall for *three months*; and then he sent to Jamestown seven Englishmen, each bearing a broken, useless musket; saying that all the other weapons were either stolen or lost; yet, when they released his daughter, he would make ample satisfaction for all injuries which *they* had experienced from his people; would give them five hundred bushels of corn, and ever afterwards be their friend. With this offer the English were not satisfied. They replied that they did not believe that the rest of the articles were stolen or lost, and that they would keep Pocahontas till he sent them all back, treating her, however, in the mean time, with kindness. With this answer, Powhatan was so much offended, that he had no communication with them for a long time afterwards.

Finally, Sir Thomas Dale took Pocahontas, and went in Argall's ship to Werowocomoco, Powhatan's residence. Upon his arrival there, the chief was absent. Dale informed the Indians that he had come to deliver up Pocahontas; but he received from them *only* insults and bravadoes. "If you have come to fight, you are welcome; but we advise you to return, or you will receive the same treatment as we gave Captain Ratcliffe." As Dale

had his own opinion as to what he had better do, he paid no other heed to their advice than to engage in conflict with them. After some fighting, attended with the destruction of a number of their houses, they came to terms, and sent messengers after Powhatan. As, however, Dale discovered certain treacherous proceedings on their part, he told them that he would give them a truce till noon of the next day; and if by that time the articles which they had stolen from the English were not returned, or a direct answer to his demands given, they might expect to be attacked — the signal of which would be the sound of their trumpets and drums.

Two of Powhatan's sons took advantage of this truce, and went on board the vessel to see their sister. Having previously heard that she was not well, they were greatly rejoiced to find that report false. Her health was good, notwithstanding her long confinement, and she was highly gratified to have this interview with her brothers, who promised to persuade their father to redeem her, and to be forever afterwards on friendly terms with the English.

As nothing was heard from Powhatan, Mr. John Rolfe and Mr. Sparks were sent to him to open negotiations. They met with a courteous reception from the Indians; but the haughty king would not admit them into his presence. The best they could

do was to hold communication with his brother, Opechancanough, who promised to do all in his power to bring about friendly relations with Powhatan.

It being now April, the time for them to prepare their ground for the reception of corn, and Powhatan obstinately refusing to come to terms, they returned to Jamestown, taking with them the captive Indian princess.

The history of Pocahontas is not exclusively of a tragic character. It has a dash of the romantic. She was as susceptible of the tender passion as ladies who are blessed with a lighter complexion and a more refined education. The unpleasantness of her imprisonment was greatly alleviated by the engagement of her affections. The person for whom she cherished this tender interest was Mr. John Rolfe, who is described by the record of those times as an "honest gentleman and of good behavior." The attachment was mutual, and had existed a considerable length of time before it was publicly known. Being desirous of making her his wife, and yet not knowing how it would be received by the authorities, nor what course to pursue in the emergency, (she being an Indian, a princess, and a captive,) Rolfe addressed a letter to Sir Thomas Dale, in which he acquainted him with the facts of the case, and solicited his advice.



Pocahontas at the same time communicated the story of her love to her brother, who conveyed the information to Powhatan.

Sir Thomas Dale and Powhatan approved the



Marriage of Pocahontas.

match, regarding it, probably, as favorable to the promotion of peace between the two nations. In

the course of ten days, Powhatan sent Opachisco, an old uncle of Pocahontas, and two of her brothers, as his representatives, to officiate in his behalf at the wedding. All things being ready, the important ceremony of marriage was solemnized in the beginning of April, 1613, and Mr. John Rolfe became the son-in-law of the renowned Emperor Powhatan.

The influence of this marriage was eminently serviceable in bringing about friendly relations and favorable commercial arrangements between the English and the Indians under Powhatan.

In addition to this, it was also the means of securing a treaty of amity with the powerful tribe of Chickahomnies, who consented to become the subjects of the King of England, to assist the colonists in time of war, and also to pay them a yearly tribute of grain. The tomahawk and scalping knife were buried at the hymeneal altar.

After this important marriage, special pains were taken to instruct the young bride in the principles of the Christian religion. Being of a quick understanding, of good natural abilities, and at the same time ardently desiring knowledge, she made rapid progress. Being convinced of the sinfulness of idolatry, she openly abandoned the religion of her people, made a profession of Christianity, and was christened by the name of Rebecca. It is said that her original name was Matoaks; but under the

influence of some superstitious notion, this was concealed from the English by the Indians, who changed her name to Pocahontas, a word which, the Moravian missionary Heckewelder says, means a run between two hills. Stith says, "She was the first Christian Indian in these parts, and perhaps the sincerest and most worthy that has ever been since. And now she has no manner of desire to return to her father; neither could she well endure the brutish manners or society of her own nation. Her affection to her husband was extremely constant and true; and he, on the other hand, underwent great torment and pain out of his violent passion and tender solicitude for her."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Pocahontas visits England. — Smith's Letter to the Queen. — He meets Pocahontas. — Her Coolness and Rebukes. — Smith's Apology. — Reply of Pocahontas. — Smith introduces her to the Nobility. — Pocahontas visits the King and Queen. — Her graceful Deportment. — She goes to various Places of Amusement. — Her Husband appointed Secretary. — Pocahontas dies. — Sorrow and Joy. — She leaves one Child. — Steukley's Treachery. — Her Child taken to his Uncle's. — The Descendants of Pocahontas. — John Randolph. — Story of Tomocomo.

ABOUT three years after her marriage, Mrs. Pocahontas Rolfe, under the care of Sir Thomas Dale, visited England. She was accompanied by her husband and several young Indians of both sexes. They arrived safely at Plymouth on the 12th of June, 1616.

Captain John Smith, whom Pocahontas had not seen since his return to England, prior to her captivity, was then engaged in preparation for a voyage to New England. He deeply regretted that the multiplicity of his engagements presented an insurmountable barrier to his making a trip to Plymouth to see her. He was sensible of his obligations to her for her past invaluable services, and was disposed to extend to her every attention and courtesy in his power; and, therefore, as he could not visit her, he wrote a letter in her behalf to the queen, in

which he specified the important services which she had rendered to him and the colony in Virginia ; the great perils she incurred on their account ; her imprisonment ; and, finally, her marriage to an Englishman, and her conversion to Christianity. He then entreats the queen to show her marks of royal favor, saying, " If she should not be well received, seeing this kingdom may rightly have a kingdom by her means, her present love to us and Christianity might turn to such scorn and fury as to divert all this good to the worst of evil, where finding so great a queen should do her some honor, more than she can imagine, for being so kind to your servants and subjects, would so ravish her with content, as to endear her dearest blood to effect that your majesty's and all the king's honest subjects most earnestly desire. And so I humbly kiss your gracious hands."

This letter does honor to the heart of Smith. It exhibits an earnest desire that his friend Pocahontas might meet with an honorable reception at court, and a willing disposition to do all in his power to accomplish that important end. It is illustrative, also, of his great sagacity in its predictions of what would be the happy influence, in Virginia, of the treatment which she should receive in England.

Unexpectedly, however, Pocahontas came to London before Captain Smith left. So great was

the contrast between the pure and healthful air of Virginia and the dingy, smoky atmosphere of the great English metropolis, that the Indian princess could not remain there with any comfort. She was therefore taken to Brentford. When Smith knew of her arrival, he, with several friends, went there to see her. After giving him a very cool reception, she passionately turned from him, and did not speak again for two or three hours. She was evidently offended. Smith now felt mortified that he had said she could speak English. But after this long and significant silence, she began to speak. She reminded Smith of the many favors she had done him in Virginia, and of the strong professions of friendship which had been exchanged between him and her father. "You promised my father," said she, "that what was yours should be his, and that you and he would be all one. When you were a stranger in our country, you called Powhatan father, and I for the same reason will now call you father."

Although Smith cherished a sincere interest in her welfare, and was willing, as we have seen from his letter to the queen, to use his influence to promote her happiness, yet such was the jealousy of the court, and such his own views of the prerogatives of royalty, that he did not dare to allow her the liberty of calling him father. She was an

emperor's daughter — a princess. He feared, therefore, that to allow himself to be called her father would be interpreted as an ambitious desire to aspire above the appropriate condition of a private citizen, and would bring down upon him the displeasure of his sovereign. It seems, however, that Pocahontas did not perceive the force of his objections; for when, for these reasons, he desired her not to address him by this familiar title, she administered to him, in a calm voice, and with a stern, fixed countenance, a cutting rebuke. "You were not afraid," said the indignant lady, "to come into my father's country, and strike a fear into every body but myself; and are you here afraid to let me call you father? I tell you then," continued she with increasing confidence, "I will call you father, and you shall call me child; and so I will forever be of your kindred and country. They always told us you were dead; and I knew no otherwise till I came to Plymouth. But Powhatan commanded Tomocomo to seek you out and know the truth, because your countrymen are much given to lying."

How Captain Smith received this reproof we are not informed. Nor why he had not kept up some kind of correspondence with Pocahontas, or her father, we know not. It would not have been difficult for him to have occasionally sent her some

trifling present as a testimony of his remembrance of the many favors which she had conferred upon him. Of one thing we may be certain, and that is, that it did not arise from ingratitude. However his conduct may have had the appearance of neglect, now that she had come to his country, he made up for it in his constant attentions to her wants. Her acquaintance was eagerly sought by the nobility and other influential classes.

As the relations between her and Smith were generally known, he was applied to daily by courtiers and others for introductions to her. He gladly availed himself of these opportunities to make her acquainted with wealthy and honorable families, who cheerfully extended to her those elegant hospitalities and attentions which greatly conduced to her enjoyment. His letter in her behalf to the queen was not without its influence; for she received an invitation to mingle in the festivities of the court, where she was most graciously received by King James I. and his royal consort, Queen Ann. Those who had expected to see a wild, rude, uncouth, female savage, ignorant of or regardless of the proprieties of cultivated society, striding awkwardly through the magnificent saloons, and gaping with unconcealed wonder at the brilliant decorations of royalty, were greatly but pleasantly disappointed. The whole court were surprised and delighted with



the amiableness of her disposition, and the elegant and easy gracefulness of her manners. It was generally admitted, that there were many English ladies whose personal appearance and gentility of deportment were not equal to hers.

Under the protection of Lady Delaware and other persons of distinction, she was taken to masks, balls, theatres, and various other places of fashionable amusement, to which the upper classes were accustomed to resort, with which she was wonderfully delighted. She seems to have been a favorite among the nobility, who vied with each other in their efforts to promote her enjoyment. But alas ! these pleasures were destined to be of short duration. As the time approached for her to return to America with her husband, who had received the appointment of secretary and recorder general of Virginia, she was taken sick, and died at Gravesend in the twenty-second year of her age. Her unexpected decease was witnessed with mingled sorrow and joy, — sorrow that one whose history had been so eventful, whose character was so much admired, and who, on her return, might, by her abilities and position in the colony, have been eminently useful, had met with such an early doom ; and joy, that in her last illness, she was sustained by the consolations of religion, and died, as she

had lived since her conversion, a sincere and devout Christian.

She left one child, a son, who was named Thomas Rolfe. He was committed to the care of Sir Lewis Steukley, who manifested an earnest desire to have charge of his education; but being detected in "a notable piece of treachery towards him," the child was taken from him. Steukley was an unprincipled character, and being convicted of certain corrupt practices, he obtained a short lease of life at the expense of his whole fortune, and finally died, unwept and unhonored, in a state of degraded indigence.

Young Rolfe was taken to London, and placed under the charge of his uncle, Mr. Henry Rolfe. He subsequently came to this country, where he acquired a fortune, and attained to considerable distinction. He had one daughter, who became the wife of Colonel Robert Bolling. The issue of this marriage was one son, Major John Bolling, who became the father of one son and several daughters, the latter of whom married Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and Mr. James Murray; "so that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia, which long ran in a single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny." The blood of the famous Pocahontas

now circulates in the veins of some of the most wealthy and aristocratic families of the Old Dominion; and it is well known to have been the boast of the late eccentric John Randolph, that this honorable distinction belonged to him, he being one of her lineal descendants.

Tomocomo, the Indian to whom Pocahontas referred in her conversation with Captain Smith, was her brother-in-law, he having married one of her sisters. Being a person of more than ordinary ability, he sustained to Powhatan the important relations of chief counsellor and priest. He was sent over to England with Pocahontas, with instructions not only to make inquiries concerning Captain Smith, but also to count and bring home to Powhatan the number of the people there. When he arrived at Plymouth, in England, he obtained a long stick, in order that he might keep exact tally of the number of people whom he should see. He began his herculean task, not knowing the amount of labor which was before him. For every person he saw, he made a notch in his stick; but after a while, when his stick was converted into a kind of coarse file or saw by the notches cut in it, he was convinced of the futility of his labor, and gave it up in despair. After his return to America, when Powhatan required a report of his labors,

and asked especially for the number of the people of England, Tomocomo, in a truly poetic spirit, told him to "count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sand upon the sea-shore, for such is the multitude of the English."

## CHAPTER. XXIV.

Young Ladies imported. — Interesting Scene. — Long Courtships prevented. — Buying Wives. — Their Value in Tobacco. — Wise Arrangement. — Its desirable Effects. — Slaves introduced. — Increase of Plantations. — Deceptive Peace. — A dark Plot forming. — An extensive Conspiracy. — A dreadful Massacre. — Barbarous Mutilations. — Jamestown saved. — Chanco's Disclosure. — Effects of the Massacre.

IN 1619, a novel measure was adopted, which had an important bearing upon the welfare of the colony. The men who were there had embarked in the enterprise for the acquisition of wealth. Instead of regarding Virginia as their permanent home, they looked upon it only as a field for profitable adventure; and their intention was to remain there sufficiently long for the acquisition of a fortune, and then return to England to enjoy it. So long as these views and intentions prevailed, the growth of the colony would be impeded. The settlers must be taught to regard that as their *home*, and to make their arrangements accordingly, before any hope of permanent thrift and advancement could be reasonably cherished. To accomplish this desirable object, it was necessary that a strong female influence should be thrown into the colony. For this purpose the treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, provided a passage

from England for ninety young women of poor parentage, but agreeable in their appearance and of good character, to furnish wives for the colonists. This was a commodity for which there was a ready demand. It was not long before these enterprising females found themselves provided with a husband and a home.

This operated so favorably that next year another company of sixty was sent over. They are described as maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended.

The reader may be curious to know how these valuable articles were disposed of, and what it cost in those early times to obtain a helpmeet.

As the young ladies were sent over at the expense of the colony, they were sold to the planters, so that their importation might entail no actual loss to the general treasury, but rather produce a profit.

It is left for the reader to imagine the scene which was presented, when it was known that a company of young ladies had crossed the ocean, and had come to the colony on purpose to become the wives of those who might invite them to sustain that relation. With what interest was the vessel visited by the young men of the settlement, and how eagerly did they cast their eyes among the groups of fair passengers to find one whom they thought they could love, and of whom to make a companion for life !

With what solicitude, too, did the young ladies regard the close inspection, and listen to the thoughtless, mirthful, and sometimes indelicate remarks of these gallants, with one of whom, but which one they knew not, they would soon be identified in interest, if not in affection, for better or for worse, during life ! Courtships were necessarily short. Engagements had to be negotiated rapidly, for, as the supply was not equal to the demand, if any gentleman hesitated in coming to a decision with reference to any young lady, he was in danger of being superseded by some of his companions more prompt than himself.

Of the first lot of ninety, a wife was sold for one hundred pounds of tobacco ! But in a short time their value so highly increased that they would bring a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco. If any man, not having on hand the requisite amount of weed, obtained a wife on credit, that debt was regarded as one of especial honor, and was to be cancelled before others. As an additional motive to marriage, married men were allowed to have more influence in the colony than others, by being generally elevated to official stations. All, therefore, who were ambitious of distinction found it necessary to get a wife. Single blessedness was not the road to a single honor.

The arrangement was wise, and worked well ; for

domestic ties, and associations of home, wife, and mother were formed. The men felt they had something to live and labor for besides themselves. They became attached to the soil, and interested more deeply than ever in the general welfare of the colony. Social feelings and offices of good neighborhood were cultivated, by which general happiness was promoted. From this time the number of emigrants so rapidly increased, that within three years thirty-five hundred people came into Virginia.

In 1620, another lot of emigrants was brought into Virginia, of a different character and for another purpose, who were destined to exert a great but deleterious influence upon the whole country. These were a gang of negro slaves, who had been introduced into the colony by a Dutch man-of-war. This may be regarded as the commencement of African slavery in the United States, which, from twenty unfortunate individuals, has, by various means, so widely extended, that at the present time there are more slaves in the country than equal the whole population of the United States at the close of the American revolution.

After emigrants began to come into the colony in considerable numbers, new settlements were formed. As tobacco had become an important article of commerce, the people were decided in their choice of a place for settlement by the adaptedness of the soil



to raise that nauseous, yet profitable weed. Wherever the land appeared rich and attractive, there a young colony would be commenced. As treaties of peace had been concluded with different tribes of Indians, and they were so fully aware of the superiority of English fire-arms over their own weapons of wood and twine as to be convinced that war was bad policy for themselves, the English were seldom troubled by them. Hence the emigrants were not unwilling to form new settlements at a considerable distance from Jamestown. By 1622, there were about eighty separate plantations, extending over a space of country of a hundred and forty miles on both sides of James River, and also on the Potomac. So little trouble had existed between the Indians and the whites for a considerable period, so kind and gentle had the natives appeared, that all fear of danger, and all suspicion of treachery, were removed from the minds of the colonists. The Indians were permitted to visit the settlements and mingle with the people with the greatest freedom. The law which had been passed against allowing them to use fire-arms was a dead letter, and they were not only permitted their use, but were employed by the settlers as hunters and fowlers, to scour the woods and fields for deer and wild fowl, by which means they became expert in the use of the musket. As one object, which was frequently enjoined upon the colonists in

the instructions of the council, was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, they uniformly received them in the most cordial manner, invited them to their tables, and furnished them with lodging, that by means of kind hospitality they might secure their confidence and respect, and in this manner prepare them for the favorable reception of religious instruction.

All of this kindness, unsuspiciousness, and familiarity was eminently favorable for the accomplishment of a deep-laid Indian plot, for the total overthrow of the English settlements.

After the death of Powhatan, which occurred in 1618, his brother Opechancanough became his successor. The new chief, or emperor, was artful, treacherous, revengeful, and merciless. He disliked the whites, had often made them trouble, was jealous at their increase, and burned for an opportunity to cut them all off, and rid the land of their hated presence. Knowing that nothing could be gained by an open war with them, he resorted to another expedient. He, with the greatest caution and subtlety, arranged an infernal plot to butcher them all in cold blood. On the same day and the same hour the horrid war whoop was to sound along the whole line of the settlements on James River, and the Indians, previously stationed and prepared with the weapons of the unsuspecting whites, were to dart

upon them at a moment's warning, and cut them down, without regard to age, sex, condition, or character. It was a magnificent scheme of treachery, the conception of a mind capable of devising plans of revengeful cruelty upon an extended scale.

Of course great pains were taken to conceal the plot from the English. A treaty of peace with them was confirmed. A messenger, who was sent to Opechancanough, was treated by him with unusual courtesy and kindness, and was assured by the deceitful chief that he "held the treaty of peace so firm that it was easier for the sky to fall than for him to violate it." Yea, such was the dissimulation of the others, that two days before the fatal catastrophe, they safely guided the English through the forests, and sent to the plantation one who had been living among them in order to acquire their language. On the evening preceding, and even on the morning of the dreadful day, they visited the colonies, as at other times, unarmed, bringing deer, turkeys, fish, fruits, and other articles for sale, and in some places they even took breakfast with those whom in a few hours they intended deliberately to murder.

Yet so carefully were the arrangements of this plot carried out, that, whilst the English were kept in profound ignorance, the Indians were all acquainted with it, and, though their dwellings were

in many instances widely scattered from each other, yet they all had warning one from another; they were informed of the precise day and hour; they each had their particular plantation designated on which they were to fall, and their posts and parts assigned in the bloody tragedy. There is something oppressively painful in the contemplation of this dark cloud, filled with the elements of death, slowly gathering over their devoted heads, and approaching nearer and nearer upon its dreadful errand, whilst the doomed victims are attending to their usual employments or sports, in entire unconsciousness of danger, to be aroused to a realization of their peril only when the descending thunderbolt shall convince them it is too late to escape.

At noon, on the 22d of March, 1622, the appointed day and hour, the cloud burst. The Indians, who were all at their stations, and who, from their familiarity with the whites, knew where all their guns and swords were kept, secretly seized a weapon, and simultaneously rose upon the colonists, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. So sudden was the blow, that many never knew with what weapon, nor by whose hand, they were struck. Blood flowed freely in every direction. The air resounded with the shrieks of the wounded, the dying, and of horrified spectators, who knew that

their turn would come next, and that escape was impossible. The innocence of infancy, the helplessness of womanhood, and the hoary hairs of age furnished no protection. Wisdom, piety, and benevolence presented no barrier. All who could be reached were slain, and generally with their own weapons. Some of the perfidious executioners entered the houses professedly to trade, others drew their victims abroad by one pretence and another, while the rest scattered themselves amongst the men as they were engaged in the fields or shops, in order that their work of blood might be the more certain and rapid. In one short hour three hundred and forty-seven persons were thus cruelly murdered by these treacherous savages ! It was a day of gloominess and thick darkness for the colony. Husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, fell horribly butchered, and mingled their blood together. Not satisfied with their death, the barbarians mangled their lifeless bodies, tore them to pieces as if they had been so many ravenous beasts, and carried their bleeding parts away as evidence of their merciless triumph, and as fitting material on which to wreak their yet unsatiated vengeance.

Still the massacre was not universal. Though the plot was well matured and skilfully arranged, yet it failed of accomplishing the entire destruction of

the English, or of even producing any bloodshed at Jamestown, the oldest and largest settlement in Virginia, and which was particularly obnoxious to the Indians on that account. The reason of this signal failure was as follows: Mr. Richard Pace had a converted Indian, named Chanco, in his employ, who lived in his family, and whom he treated with all the kindness of a father. The evening preceding the dreadful day of slaughter, the brother of this Indian, who was also in the employ of an Englishman by the name of Perry, visited Chanco, and slept with him. In the darkness and stillness of night, he revealed to him the whole matter, and told him that his king, Opechancanough, commanded him (Chanco) to kill his master the next day at noon, and to furnish him with an additional motive, he urged him to follow his example, "for," said he, "I intend to kill my master Perry." Chanco, it seems, did not hesitate as to the course to be pursued. Instead of resolving to kill his master, he was determined to save him, if possible. Therefore, so soon as his brother left him, he arose and disclosed to Mr. Pace the whole plot. Pace, who resided at some distance from Jamestown, made it known to his neighbors, who immediately placed their houses in a state of defence. He then took a boat, and rowed as rapidly as possible to Jamestown, giving intelligence to all the villages and hamlets on

his route. He revealed the plot to the governor, who immediately took measures to avert the impending blow. All the old muskets, swords, and other weapons which could be found were fixed for immediate use. Messengers were despatched to neighboring plantations, putting them on their guard, and in this way the blow was effectually warded off from these places; for wherever the Indians discovered the English to be on their guard, they refrained from making any attack. So fearful were they of gunpowder, that a single musket pointed at them would make a score of them run. And in one instance, after a band of them had made an attack upon a place, the random firing of a gun set all to running like so many frightened sheep. So that, although by this dreadful slaughter many were slain, a much larger number escaped. As a scheme for the entire destruction of the English, it proved a splendid failure. Chanco's disclosure saved the lives of many hundreds, prevented the destruction of Jamestown, and thwarted the nefarious object of his chief. Chanco saved the colony. Let his name ever be held in grateful remembrance. The total number of the emigrants who had come to Virginia was over four thousand. A year after the massacre, two thousand five hundred men remained.

The immediate effects of this ruthless demonstration were disastrous to the colonists. Public works

were neglected, agriculture in a great measure ceased, villages were broken up, private plantations abandoned, the people were terrified, and the spirit of enterprise palsied. It was a long time before the English recovered from this sudden and violent check.



## CHAPTER XXV.

**Effects of the Massacre. — A difficult Question. — Smith's Proposal. — Indian War. — Stringent Treatment. — A second Massacre. — Opechancanough a Prisoner. — He is murdered. — Border War. — The Indians conquered. — Dissolution of the London Company. — Baptism enjoined by Law. — Union of Church and State. — Quakers condemned. — How to judge the early Settlers. — Church-Wardens. — Laws concerning Marriage. — Concerning Shipmasters. — Whipping Posts and Ducking Stools. — The Sabbath. — Fast. — The two Colonies. — Closing Remark.**

WHEN the painful intelligence of the horrid massacre reached England, it was productive of widespread sorrow. A large number of those who were slain had relatives at home who were deeply afflicted by their death. The company, however, by whose control the colony was governed, instead of being discouraged by these untoward events, were stimulated to greater efforts, in order to secure the country for which they had already sacrificed so much. Arrangements were immediately made to forward the survivors supplies. And even the king, from the impulse of a somewhat equivocal generosity, was prompted to furnish them with some old, cast-off arms, which had been rusting for an indefinite period in the Tower of London.

A vexing question, which elicited much discussion

in the company, and on which opposite sides were taken, was, What course shall be pursued towards the Indians? Some were in favor of bringing them into subjection to the British crown, while others were for a war of extermination. At this crisis Captain Smith, who, from long and close observation, was well acquainted with Indian character, proposed to the company that if they would furnish him with one hundred soldiers, thirty sailors, and one bark, he would agree to protect all the settlements from the James to the Potomac River. The company were too poor to accept of his offer, but they gave him permission to effect a similar arrangement with the colonists themselves, provided he would give the company one half the booty he should acquire. The idea of obtaining any thing valuable from these uncivilized Indians appeared to Smith preposterous. He informed the company that, with the exception of some little corn, he would not give twenty pounds for all the booty that could be obtained from the savages for twenty years.

When the colonists recovered from the panic which this sudden outburst of Indian fury had produced, they made arrangements to act upon the offensive, and to "carry the war into the enemy's camp." In July of that same year, to convince the Indians that they were neither subdued nor afraid of them, three hundred colonists went forth to forage

corn, and to punish all the natives whom they might meet. Indian duplicity, however, was too much for them, and they allowed themselves to be deceived by one pretence and another, until the wily savages had successfully removed their grain beyond reach. They managed, however, to burn their villages and destroy other property, which it was believed would subject the enemy to much suffering during the approaching winter.

At the following meeting of the General Assembly, a law was passed requiring the inhabitants of every corporation to attack their neighboring savages, as they had done the year preceding. In 1630, it was also enacted, that "the war begun upon the Indians be effectually followed, and that no peace be concluded with them; and that all expeditions undertaken against them be prosecuted with diligence. This unsettled state of harassing warfare continued with undiminished fury until 1632, when a treaty of peace was concluded under the administration of Governor Harvey. In the negotiation of this treaty, the Indians did not receive the kindness which had usually been extended to them. It was deemed expedient to deal more stringently with them. Accordingly their villages, their cleared lands, and their pleasant positions, which had been actually taken possession of by the English, were retained by them after the war, and, consequently,

the original owners were obliged to remove to new localities.

In 1644, on the 18th of April, another conspiracy broke out under the influence of Opechancanough, who was now far advanced in years and nearly blind. It failed, however, of its object. Three hundred of the settlers were destroyed, but the English were not overthrown, nor driven from the country. Opechancanough was taken prisoner and carried to Jamestown. He here exhibited the same haughtiness for which he had always been distinguished; preserving a disdainful silence, and taking no interest in events which passed around him. Whilst here he was basely shot in the back by a sentinel, in revenge for certain injuries he had received from him on some former occasion. As the old chief found the current of life was fast passing away, the only thing which seemed to occasion him regret was, that in his dying moments he was exposed to the inquisitive gaze of his curious and hated enemies.

For nearly two years a border warfare between the whites and the Indians was kept up. The latter gradually yielded to the superiority of the former, until finally so effective were English weapons that ten men were sufficient to protect any place from the attacks of the savages. In the month of October, 1646, a treaty of peace was established between the English and Opechancanough's successor, whose

name was Necotowance. Amongst the terms of this treaty were, on the part of the Indians, submission to English authority and the cession of their lands. The natives were now obliged to move farther into the interior, by which the colonists were relieved, in a great degree, of their unwelcome presence.

Previous to this, in 1624, the London Company, under whose auspices the colonies in Virginia had been commenced, was, by the authority of the king, dissolved. Pecuniarily it had not proved a profitable speculation. Still it had accomplished a noble object. It had sealed the perpetuity of the colonies in Virginia, and had ceded to them a liberal form of government. It had started a stream, which, though at first it was a mere rill, was destined to increase, until, like the waters of Ezekiel, it would rise first to the ankles, then to the knees, then to the loins, and afterwards become a mighty river, on the banks of which were to grow trees bearing life-giving fruit every month, and the leaves of which were to be for the healing of the nations. After this, the colonies in Virginia, under the general protection of the British government, were left to their own resources.

Though we have now reached our assigned limits, yet before drawing this volume to a close, it will not be amiss to call attention to a few of the laws which at different times were passed for the observance of the colonists.

In 1662 it was enacted that every person who refuses to have his child baptized by a lawful minister shall be amerced two thousand pounds of tobacco, half of which was to go to the informer, and half to the parish.

“The whole liturgy of the church of England shall be thoroughly read at church or chapel every Sunday; and the canons for divine service and sacraments duly observed.”

In these enactments was developed the same union of church and state which operated so unfortunately in the churches of the Puritans in Massachusetts, and which had been the means of obliging so many to leave their native land that they might find in the wilderness of a new world freedom to worship God. The union of church and state in England had resulted in such severe persecutions that those who refused to conform to the ritual of the established church could enjoy there no quiet. They must sacrifice their own conscientious convictions, or else submit to the arbitrary penalty of the law.

Yet in the new world this same unwise principle, to call it by no stronger name, was introduced, and in Virginia every person who refused to have his child baptized was condemned to pay a heavy fine. Massachusetts has been severely condemned for her strictness in executing a similar principle — for attempting to enforce religious opinions and practices

by means of the civil power. It is evident, however, that she was not alone. She is not entitled to the solitary glory or shame of advancing what she deemed the gospel by the severe penalties of the law. Even her treatment of the Quakers, which, it is admitted, reflects no honor upon her wisdom or humanity, finds almost a parallel in the following enactment in Virginia :—

“If any Quakers, or other separatists whatsoever, in this colony assemble themselves together to the number of five or more, of the age of sixteen years or upwards, under the pretence of joining in a religious worship not authorized in England or this country, the parties so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted by verdict, confessions, or notorious evidence of the fact, shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay two hundred pounds of tobacco ;—for the second offence, five hundred pounds of tobacco, to be levied by warrant from any justice of the peace upon the goods of the party convicted ; but if he be unable, then upon the goods of any other of the separatists or Quakers then present ;—and for the third offence, the offender, being convicted as aforesaid, shall be banished the colony of Virginia.

“Every master of a ship or vessel that shall bring in any Quakers to reside here, after the first of July next, shall be fined five thousand pounds of tobacco, to be levied by distress and sale of his goods, and

enjoined to carry him, her, or them, out of the country again.

“Any person inhabiting this country and entertaining any Quaker in or near his house to preach, or teach, shall, for every time of such entertainment, be fined five thousand pounds of tobacco.”

If any attempt were to be made to enact laws like these at the present day, in any of the states of this Union, it would be met by the most violent opposition, and prevented; but it must be remembered that the great idea of religious liberty was not then fully understood. It had not been adopted as a principle of government by any nation upon earth. These arbitrary laws were in harmony with those of the governments of Europe, and, consequently, they were not so far behind the times as they would be now.

In forming an opinion of the early settlers of this country, we must give due weight to the influences and associations amidst which they had been trained. It would be doing them great injustice to judge of them as though they had been brought up under free institutions, like those which we now enjoy, but had basely resisted their liberalizing tendencies. They scarcely saw the dawn of that bright day of religious liberty, in whose enlightening and vivifying beams we are permitted to rejoice. Yet it is difficult to suppress the expression of surprise that, after all their painful experience of the effects of spiritual



tyranny, they should themselves have adopted it as a prominent element of government, in the treatment of those whose religious convictions differed from their own.

Other laws of a somewhat peculiar character were passed, amongst which were the following : —

“ Church-wardens shall present at the county court twice every year, in December and April, such misdemeanors of swearing, drunkenness, fornication, &c., as by their own knowledge, or common fame, have been committed during their being church-wardens.

“ To steal, or unlawfully to kill, any hog that is not his own, upon sufficient proof, the offender shall pay to the owner one thousand pounds of tobacco, and as much to the informer ; and in case of inability, shall serve two years, one to the owner and one to the informer.

“ No marriage shall be reputed valid in law but such as is made by the minister, according to the laws of England. And no minister shall marry any person without a license from the governor or his deputy, or thrice publication of banns, according to the rubric in the Common Prayer Book. The minister that doth marry contrary to this act shall be fined ten thousand pounds of tobacco.

“ No master of any ship, &c., shall transport any person out of this colony without a pass, under the

secretary's hand, upon the penalty of paying all such debts as any such person shall owe at his departure, and one thousand pounds of tobacco to the secretary.

“The court in every county shall cause to be set up near the court house a pillory, a pair of stocks, a whipping post, and a ducking stool, in such place as they shall think convenient; which not being set up within six months after the date of this act, the said court shall be fined five thousand pounds of tobacco.

“In actions of slander, occasioned by a man's wife, after judgment passed for damages, the woman shall be punished by ducking, and if the slander be such as the damages shall be adjudged at above five hundred pounds of tobacco, then the woman shall have ducking for every five hundred pounds of tobacco adjudged against her husband, if he refuse to pay the tobacco.

“Enacted that the Lord's day be kept holy, and no journeys be made on that day, unless upon necessity. And all persons inhabiting in this country, having no lawful excuse, shall every Sunday resort to the parish church or chapel, and there abide orderly during the common prayer, preaching, and divine service, upon the penalty of being fined fifty pounds of tobacco by the county court.

“This act shall not extend to Quakers or other recusants who totally absent themselves, but they shall be liable to the penalty imposed by the statute, &c.

“All ministers officiating in any public cure, and six of their family, shall be exempted from public taxes.

“1668. The 27th of August, appointed for a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, to implore God’s mercy ; if any person be found upon that day gaming, drinking, or working, (works of necessity excepted,) upon presentment by the church-wardens, and proof, he shall be fined one hundred pounds of tobacco, half to the informer and half to the poor of the parish.”

In 1680, it was enacted that no licensed attorney shall demand or receive, for bringing any cause to judgment in the General Court, more than five hundred pounds of tobacco and cask ; and in the county court, one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco and cask, which fees are allowed him without any pre-agreement.

“If any attorney shall refuse to plead any cause in the respective courts aforesaid, for the aforesaid fees, he shall forfeit as much as his fees should have been.”

The above laws suggest a variety of points upon which we might indulge in some profitable reflec-

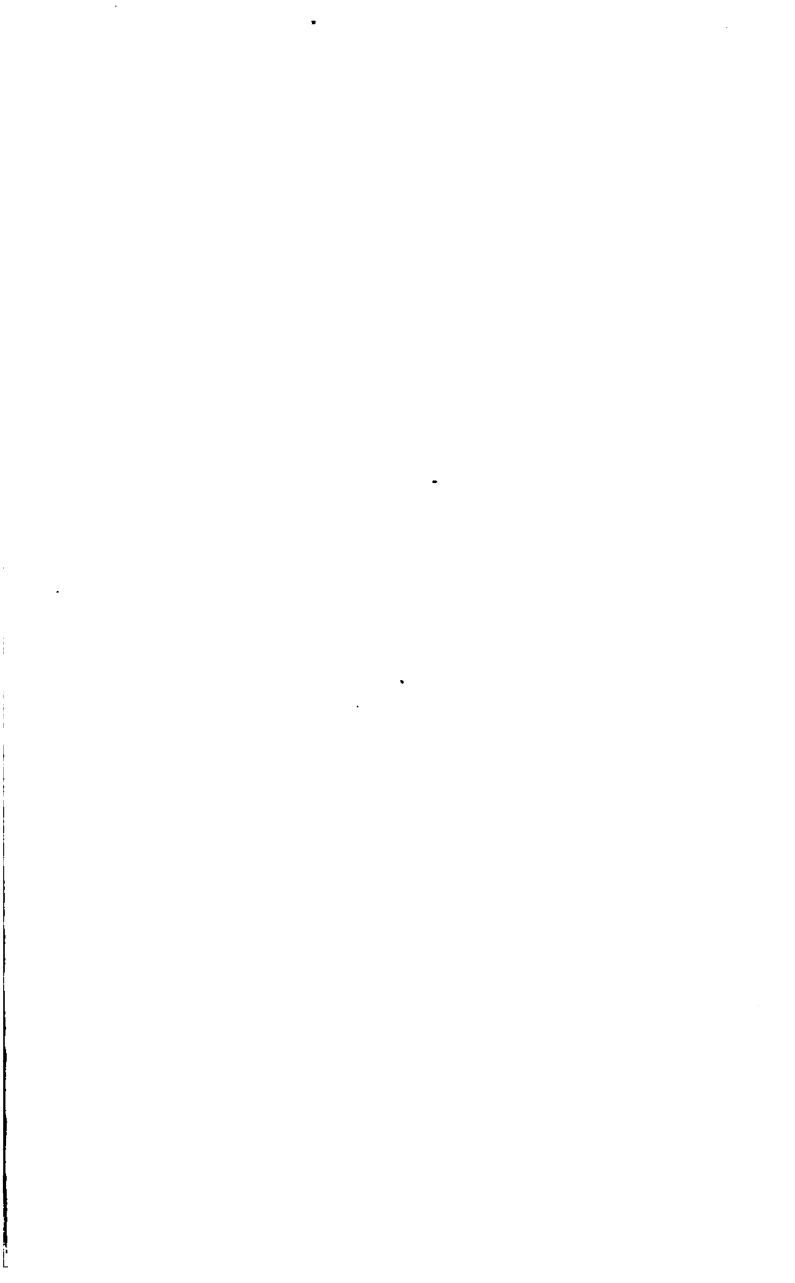
tions. These, however, are left for the reader. We can only remark, as a singular circumstance, that the laws which were enacted against sectaries, by the colonies at Jamestown and Plymouth, resulted, when carried into execution, in mutual excommunication. The government at Jamestown did not tolerate Puritan dissent, and the Puritan government at Boston did not tolerate episcopacy.

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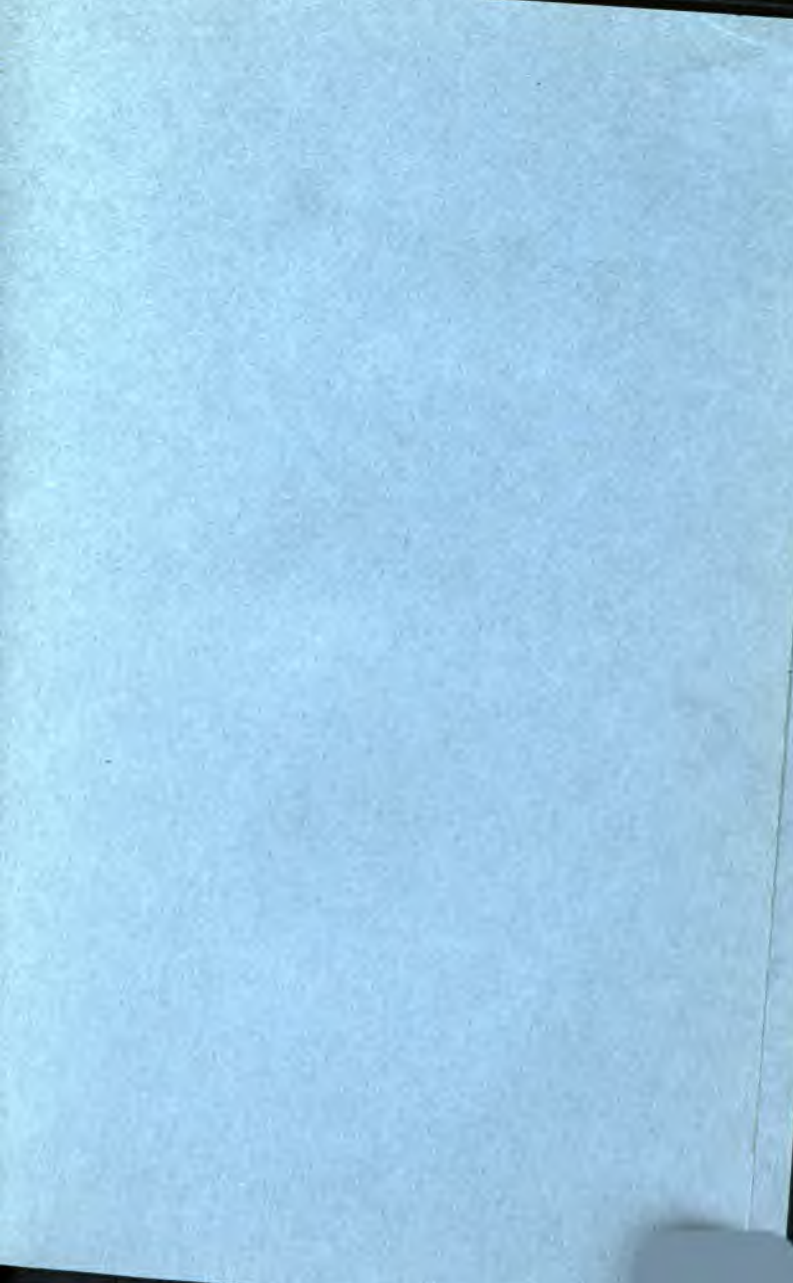
The reader who has perused the preceding chapters of this work cannot fail of being impressed with the great trials and sacrifices which those endured who first colonized this country, and here laid the foundations of a government whose flag is respected in all climes, and whose influence is felt throughout the world. To assert that they were imperfect, is to say that they were like ourselves. To deny that amongst them were men of expansive minds, noble hearts, of great courage, foresight, prudence, and perseverance, is to do them great injustice. As successive years rolled away, there arose in Virginia a class of men who, by their natural endowments and their acquired attainments, were well fitted to adorn any station in life, and whose genius, learning, courage, and patriotism rendered essential assistance in the great conflict

of the revolution, and in the formation of our republican institutions, under the operation of which we have attained to our present degree of grandeur and power, as one of the leading nations upon earth. May their noble spirit ever stimulate their descendants to an imitation of their glorious example

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